The Power of Civic Education in Democratic Socialization

An Investigation of Cape Town High Schools

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

Over the past 20 years, South Africa has utilized education as a means of promoting democracy and civic engagement in young learners. Previous research has shown that this socialization project has been ineffective at influencing South African youth towards civic responsibility, yet there is a lack of constructive evaluation on the means and methods by which schooling can better build active democratic citizens. This minor dissertation seeks to fill this gap by investigating whether teacher training and specific pedagogies can more effectively promote characteristics of civic responsibility in South African youth. The main purpose of the research is to determine whether the pedagogies used by Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming our Future teacher training program are effective at creating civically responsible learners and how these compare to the average classroom. Furthermore it seeks to clarify our understanding of the connections between civic knowledge, skills, and values; their effect on civic efficacy, and the effect of all of these components on civic responsibility.

To answer these questions, this research utilizes a quasi-experimental study to compare and contrast the impact of different pedagogies used in classrooms in the Western Cape. It employs a quantitative closed-question survey and comparisons with contrast groups to examine the impact of specialized pedagogies on the civic responsibility of 134 Grade 11 learners in three dissimilar Cape Town area high schools. The survey utilizes measures and scales obtained from previous research by Dennis Barr and Robert Mattes, Richard Niemi, and David Denemark, including the well-known California Civic Index created by Joseph Kahne. Empirical analysis was run utilizing multi-linear regressions and factor analysis to determine both independent and combined effects of variables.

The results show that Facing the Past – Transforming our Future teaching training and pedagogies are not significantly correlated to civic action nor many of the characteristics of civic responsibility. Significantly, this training *does* positively contribute to an open classroom environment which was correlated with stronger civic values and deliberative skills in learners. Of further importance is the finding that civic learning opportunities in the classroom hold a positive relationship with increased learner efficacy and civic action. These relationships are particularly strong in the low-resource school in the sample. Finally, the results indicate important independent roles of learner deliberative skills and self-efficacy on levels of active civic participation.

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List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Initial Conceptual Framework……25

Table 1: General Spread of Variables……..32

Figure 2: Civic knowledge, Skills, and Values Conceptualization……..35

Table 2: Civic Efficacy Regression (pooled)……..35

Table 3: Civic Action Regression (pooled)……..36

Table 4: Factor Loading on Efficacy and Action……37

Table 5: Civic Efficacy on Civic Action……38

Figure 3: Classroom Environment Diagram……38

Figure 4: Effect of Classroom Environment……..39

Table 6: Classroom Open Climate Pooled…….. 39

Table 7: Classroom Civic Learning Opportunities (pooled)……40

Table 8: Classroom Type Regression……..41

Figure 5: Final Conceptual Framework…….... 47

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: SETTING THE STAGE
1.1 Research Question……...1
1.2 Significance……1
1.3 South African Context……..4
1.4 State of Democratic Commitment of Youth in South Africa……10

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL SETTING
2.1 Civic Education: Conceptualization……..12
2.2 Civic Education in Practice: South Africa……..19

CHAPTER 3: METHODS
3.1 Research Design……..26
3.2 Operationalization……30

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS
4.1 Results……32
4.2 Discussion……..40

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION……...48

REFERENCES
APPENDIX A
APPENDIX B
APPENDIX C

Chapter One

1.1 Research Question

The fundamental question of this thesis is based on achieving in a better understanding of education as a tool for political socialization in the reproduction of a democratic society. Broadly, it is a conceptual investigation on whether specialized civic education, with special regards to pedagogies, is an effective tool for promoting civic responsibility in South African youth. The focus is centered on high school learners in Cape Town, South Africa and the question which this research seeks to answer is based in empirical inquiry. It asks:

> *Is the specialized civic education utilized in Shikaya's Facing the Past- Transforming Our Future program effective at socializing high school learners toward civic responsibility and how does this compare to mainstream pedagogy?*

The investigation of this inquiry is guided by the following sub-questions:

1. How can we define civic responsibility and its characteristics in the South African context?
2. What pedagogies within civic education affect these characteristics?
3. Does Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming our Future program's pedagogies have an impact on civic responsibility?

1.2 Significance

"Education is a better safeguard of liberty than a standing army."

\- Edward Everett

A deeper knowledge of how a nation can encourage an environment of lasting democratic commitment is indispensable in our global hour with numerous countries joining the third wave of democracy. The use of education as a tool for reproduction of these values still needs to be more thoroughly explored, especially considering its capacity to reach an entire generation of citizens. In particular, the school system holds promise through its capacity to target youth while they are still at an impressionable age thereby helping to set the foundation for their future success. The impression of a school system on its learners can hold tremendous sway over their perceptions of civic responsibility including their levels of civic knowledge, skills, and values.

In South Africa, education reform has become a focal point for the endeavor of enhancing citizens' commitment to democracy. Ever since the fall of apartheid, the government has utilized the new school system to reinforce civic responsibility through both a rights-based approach and action-based approach to citizenship. In order to quickly do away with the prejudice bearings of the previous regime, policy makers have perceived the school system as a vector for propagating the ideals as outlined in the Constitution. These ideals are indicated in the preamble which states the country's aims to:

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which Government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law
- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations

The first White Paper on education, drafted in 1995, further elaborates on the nation's democratic focus of education in stating, "The education system must counter the legacy of violence by promoting the values underlying the democratic process and the charter of fundamental rights, the importance of due process of law and the exercise of civic responsibility… Thus peace and stability will become the natural condition of our schools and colleges, and citizens will be empowered to participate confidently and constructively in social and civic life." The Department of Education further demonstrated its adherence to the ideals of civic education through its introduction of History and Life Orientation classes in 2002. According to the Department of Education, the (re)introduction of History was seen as a way to develop informed, critical and responsible citizens capable of participating constructively in society. The mandatory Life Orientation's course was intended to teach a range of life skills with a specific democratic element (Mattes, Denemark & Niemi 2012; Department of Education, 2001, p. 24-26).

These aspirations are laudable. However, considering the current state of the nation, policy makers appear to have come up short of their education goals. Although there has been a deep focus on socializing South Africa for active democracy, research shows that the nation's commitment to civic responsibility is waning (Mattes, 2012; Mattes, Denemark & Niemi, 2012; Finkel & Ernst, 2005). If the intended national socialization project had been successful, the Born Free generation[1] should have exhibited a stronger orientation towards civic responsibility. These individuals grew up without the barriers of the apartheid regime or the first-hand experiences that weigh so heavily on the older generations. Their only personal experience has been within a democratic society which publicly espouses notions of equality and tolerance. Furthermore, they are the products of a deliberate democratic education; one which seeks first and foremost to create active democratic citizens.

Therefore, it would appear that this socializing education project has not been as effective as anticipated at instilling the civic knowledge, skills, and values required of civic responsibility. An empirical study by Mattes, Denemark and Niemi (2012) suggests that this curriculum has yet to impart civic values in a significant proportion of South African learners. This, coupled with his finding that the Born Free generation is "less democratic" than previous generations[2], suggests that the education system within the schools is neither successful nor sufficient to foster the civic responsibility of its

[1] "Born Free Generation" is the nickname given for citizens born in or after the year of the country's first free elections (1994). The first of these reached voting age in 2012.

[2] This refers to the level of democratic commitment as measured by a multi-item index called 'demand for democracy' comprised of a series of Afrobarometer survey questions. This index is comprised of a question about the democratic support ("Democracy is always best") along with the rejection of three alternative non-democratic forms of rule.

intention. It is therefore imperative that further research examine the ways in which this socialization project within the school system can prove more effective in creating more civically responsible citizens.

There are several possible reasons cited for this ineffectiveness, which will be elaborated on in the following section. However, one of the critical reasons cited is the lack of highly skilled and well-trained teachers who are capable of teaching democratic values effectively in the classroom (Jansen & Christie, 1999; Mattes, Denemark & Niemi, 2012; Motaboli, 2009). Although there has been a profound redistribution of resources which has helped to equalize the fiscal equality of schools in the Western Cape, research has shown that there is still a large disparity in qualifications and experiences of teachers (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). If this rings true, then part of the solution would lie in developing better-trained educators. On this note, it would further be the case that a program which is dedicated to professional development and teacher training could be of significant value. By giving teachers the tools to implement the civic education already sought in South Africa, they will be more effective in producing actively democratic citizens. With this in mind, this project aims to contrast what *is* and what *can be* by examining specialized civic education. If this specialized approach proves beneficial to the transmission of civic responsibility it could provide insight on how to develop educators capable of teaching democratic knowledge, skills, and values in their classrooms.

This research focuses on teacher training because it is an area where exciting experimentation is happening and where real change is possible. The acting model of specialized civic education in this project is the teaching methodology, professional development, and additional support given to teachers by Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming Our Future project currently operating in schools in the Western Cape. Their innovative methods for professional development have been implemented in classrooms across the globe in the United States, Germany, and Northern Ireland for over three decades and are now being modified and applied to the South African context. Furthermore, South Africa already allocates a significant share of its resources to education with a public education spending ratio of 6% of GDP. This level is high, even by international standards, and further fiscal increases are not a viable option. Specialized teacher training is something that can be implemented without investing huge resources or rebuilding the education system. Therefore change which can be actualized with fairly small investments and it can be pursued through either reform at the national level or through auxiliary services with which the government can connect, such as Shikaya.

Furthermore, the results of this research will provide a deeper understanding of how to effectively conduct this training. The methods used by Shikaya in their teacher-development have been tested and proven effective at increasing learners' democratic characteristics such as tolerance and civic self-efficacy in the United States when conducted by their partner organization, Facing History and Ourselves (Barr, 2010; Tibbits, 2006). However, the methods have been adapted for the South African context and curriculum and little research has been conducted to evaluate their impact. Shikaya doesn't change the content of the National Curriculum within classrooms but rather introduces pedagogies through which it can be better imparted. By gaining an empirical understanding of the effectiveness of these pedagogies, potential benefits of the program can be discovered as well as areas for improvement in their teaching methods. It should be noted that the intent of this research is more conceptual than practical; it is not meant to evaluate Shikaya as a program but rather an assessment of its approach and pedagogies which

should be adopted in a broader framework. Such lessons could aid other NGOs and school districts in creating a more effective and substantial civics education program.

Civic Responsibility:

This research utilizes an active definition of democratic citizenship which not only encompasses the possession of rights of a democratic nation-state but further the actual involvement of citizens within that nation-state. The term 'civic responsibility' is utilized to refer to active citizenship tempered with democratic ideals of tolerance, human rights, and equality. The totality of post-war ideology on democratic citizenship was the assurance that every person is treated as a full and equal member of society. This propones a passive acceptance of civil, political, and social rights and excludes any obligation to participate in public life. While this notion of passive citizenship is still widely supported it has been challenged by scholars asserting a need to supplement or replace this notion with a more active exercise of citizenship.

In its most basic conception the term 'citizenship' only refers to the legal status. Yet full democratic citizenship involves more. In order for a democracy to work, citizens must become knowledgeable and actively contribute to their communities and nation. This action is exactly what "distinguish(es) 'citizens' within a democracy from 'subjects' of an authoritarian regime" (Kymlicka, 2002, p. 289). This active contribution of civic responsibility is founded on more than just the voting process. It further demands active engagement and an understanding that participation should be a part of daily life. This includes being informed on public issues, openly and respectfully engaging in public discourse about public policy, understanding where problems exist in society and actively working to remedy them (Kymlicka, 2002).

This active definition of democratic citizenship holds particular importance in the South African historical context where the movement to end apartheid and establish an open and free democracy was achieved through the mass participation of South African citizens. In order to fortify the democratic ideals expounded in the South African constitution, the national government turned toward education reform. To set this stage, the following section focuses on the South African context through an examination of the reformed education system, where it has come from, and the difficulties it has encountered in implementation.

1.3 South African Context

> "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world."
>
> -Nelson Mandela

The State of Education: Curriculum Reform from 1994 to the Present

When the new democratic government took office in 1994, they inherited a crippled education system and structurally unequal society. Education under the era of apartheid was marked by high levels of illiteracy, discredited curricula, and dysfunctional schools. However, the legacy of apartheid stretched

far beyond the vast discrepancies and low level of infrastructure. It further served to reinforce social inequalities, racial injustice, and intolerance (Chisholm, 2003).

Segregationist and unequal educational structures began to form in the 1930s and 1940s while South African education was still predominantly operated through the church or through mission support. At this time, the provinces held legal responsibility for black education yet funding was still controlled by the central government. This was marked by highly unequal funding and therefore highly unequal functionality between primarily black and primarily white schools (Christie & Collins, 1982). Later, black schooling was brought under control of the Minister of Education through the Bantu Education Act of 1952, which was adopted largely in response to the Eiselen Commission Report of 1951.[3] The proclaimed ideological purpose of this act was in consideration for the transmission and development of black cultural heritage and was to adapt education to the "black way of life" (Christie & Collins, 1982). However, many believe that the act served as a method to secure the racial inequalities already inherent in society by allowing state control over the educational capacity for different races. More specifically, it is claimed that this new education system subsumed economic grounds by targeting these populations for low-wage labor and the reproduction of social inequality (Christie & Collins, 1982; Byrnes, 1996; Ndimande, 2003).

The new education system perpetuated highly affected learning environments, both structurally and ideologically. Structurally, the under-resourcing of non-white schools propagated dysfunctional management structures and apathetic educators and administrators. There was substantially less funding for black and colored schools; by the 1970s the per-capita spending on black schools was only 1/10 of that for white schools. This affected the quality and quantity of learning materials, facilities, and educators. For example, by 1984 the teacher to pupil ratios averaged 1:18 in white schools, 1:27 in colored schools, and 1:39 in black schools. Furthermore, only 15% of teachers in black schools held teaching certificates while 96% were certified in white schools (Byrnes, 1996).

Ideologically, classroom environments were highly affected by the apartheid curriculum content. The curriculum was utilized to justify and promote the apartheid ideology and was rife with sexism, racism, and classism. It acted as a "reproductive force in an unequal society" (Engelbrecht, 2006, p. 75).The textbooks, in particular, distorted the values and identities of learners through prejudicial content. The 'natural' differences between whites and nonwhites were highlighted to favor white superiority and justify actions of this group. Naturally, textbooks act as an officially sanctioned portrayal of knowledge and therefore the information they impart holds the power to reinforce selected cultural values in learners. For 40 years, the Bantu education curriculum fostered judgmental values and left deep rooted perceptions of inherent inequality (Engelbrecht, 2006).

The apartheid education system proved capable of producing profound educational inequalities and a value system of discrimination through overt racist policies. However, just as the education system propagated apartheid ideology, it also worked to dismantle it in the nation's shift to democracy. As with

[3] Bantu Education is distinct from apartheid education in that it pertained only to the black population and was offered through the Department of Native Affairs and later the Department of Bantu Education. Meanwhile, apartheid education refers to Blacks, Coloured, and Indians collectively (Ndimande, 2003).

many transitioning societies, South African education was seen as a vector for generational change – a means to overcome decades of the apartheid legacy. Upon the establishment of a democratic South Africa, the nation faced the burden of transforming education in order to propagate a new system of values which would both rectify and serve to redress past injustices. This included the tasks of re-unification of the education departments, deracialization of schools, and establishing a new curriculum (van der Berg, 2007). However, reform has been a slow and complex process for nearly 20 years filled with restructurings, revisions, and simplifications. Critique is widespread and ranges from the very philosophical foundations of the curriculum to the speed of implementation and the resources utilized. The key problems of education reform lie in the structural challenges of the shifting curriculum, compounded by resource deficiency; a disruptive institutional order; and a severe lack of educator training.

Reform has been a long-term and convoluted process in which the complex and shifting structure of the curriculum caused confusion within classrooms and frustration among teachers and administrators. There have been three major revisions of the curriculum, each equally ambitious but all experiencing a high level of structural challenges in implementation. Overall, problems stemmed from the abstract and complicated terminology and were exacerbated by limited resources for implementation.

With the installment of democracy, South Africa faced a major overhaul of the education system. Upon the new Minister of Education, Sisbusisio Bhengu, taking office in 1994, the official move toward policy reform took hold. At this time, the Ministry faced the colossal task of demolishing the legacy of apartheid education, creating a new system of social values, and getting South Africa on track for participation in the global economy (Chisholm, 2003). The process began through both the amalgamation of 17 different education departments into a more streamline power structure as well as a thorough 'cleansing' of the national curriculum to eliminate racialized and prejudice material from the nation's text books. On the larger scale, the Ministry of Education found a need for an entirely new educational philosophy, one that would be symbolically and technically opposite from the apartheid education.

With this came the first revised curriculum, called Curriculum 2005 (C2005), which was drafted with the key intention of producing citizens reflective of the new South Africa. This curriculum was called an Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) as it sought to establish desired "outcomes" for South African citizens reflective of constitutional ideals. The curriculum appeared to be a promising change. It introduced eight new learning areas immersed in democratic values of non-racialism and non-sexism (Mattes, Denemark, & Niemi, 2012). However, C2005 experienced a high level of structural challenges in its implementation. The system was very difficult to comprehend, primarily due to the complicated and abstract terminology. Teachers struggled to operationalize the curriculum objectives into workable pedagogies and to navigate the baffling 64 different desired outcomes across eight learning areas. The program stated high aspirations but left the means of curriculum building to the teachers with very limited training.

These issues were partially addressed but not fully remedied by the curriculum revision between 2001 and 2007. In 2001, a revision committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education to investigate areas

for policy improvement. The results of this investigation were never officially published but they resulted in the creation of a new streamlined version of C2005, titled the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS)[4]. Among a variety of changes, this new model focused on the creation of enhanced curriculum structure including lesson plans and classroom materials. Much of the terminology was changed; for example, Specific Outcomes became Learning Outcomes and Assessment Criteria became Assessment Standards. It gave more time for training and allowed ample preparation before implementation between 2004 and 2007. RNCS was still based on the same OBE principles of the original C2005 but it reduced and streamlined the numerous outcomes (Chisholm, 2003). While this was without doubt an improvement to previous curriculum, it still struggled in implementation. Most notably, educators found it difficult to keep up to speed of the changes; many were unsure of the materials to use or the best practices for pedagogies.

Throughout this process, there was a lack of departmental capacity to effectively carry out these ambitious revisions and schools were limited in budget and capacity to fulfill new requirements. They needed to cope with tight economic policy – a consequence of the nation-wide structural adjustment towards fiscal constraint. More was expected out of the schools and although the education budget was restructured towards greater racial equity it was not expanded to accommodate the increased demand (Chisholm, 2003). This led to a slew of issues including inconsistent support materials (in quality, availability, and frequency of use), an overload of policy but shortages of personnel and resources for implementation, and seriously inadequate orientation and professional development of educators. Some authors feel that the South African government, in full knowledge of the institutional deficiency, simply played into 'political symbolism' with education reform whereas they instituted sweeping new curriculum without any real expectations for change;

> "Jansen (2001) accuses the South African government of 'political symbolism' in terms of its educational reform. He argues that in the light of the known severe resource, personnel, and training constraints there was never any real expectations that the ambitious reforms would seriously alter education in South Africa for everybody, but it was important to be seen to be doing something. To this, Harley and Wedekind (2004) added the notion of 'policy meliorism', that is the belief that the mere vision of a policy is enough to ameliorate the actual conditions, i.e. that 'the good intentions expressed by education reforms have more influence on the policy agenda than school and social realities themselves." (Spreen & Vally, 2010, p. 437)

Yet the school and social realities did have a great deal of influence. The grievances with the confusing curriculum and lack of resources have been coupled with an institutional deficiency and disorganization in many South African schools. A lack of institutional order in schools has been recognized as a serious issue even prior to the new post-apartheid curriculum. In 1997, the Deputy Minister of Education stated:

> "…Many of our teachers are not committed to quality teaching, their behavior leaves much to be desired, are more interested in their own welfare, are not professional and dedicated, are never at school on time, pursue their studies at the expense of the children, do not prepare for

[4] The word "Revised" represented by the "R" in the abbreviation was dropped in 2006 and is now called the National Curriculum Statement or NCS.

> lessons… Many of our principals have no administrative skills, they are the source of conflict between learners and teachers, sow divisions among their staff, undermine the development of their colleagues, fail to properly manage the resources of their school, do not involve parents in school matters." (Cited in Harber & Mncube, 2012, p. 132)

When the new curriculum was implemented the government failed to understand what the school conditions were actually like, including the limited resources and capacity of educators (Jansen, 1999). The dysfunction of administrators, high levels of corruption, and broken authority structures left schools unsupportive of a healthy learning environment. This perpetuated apathy among educators and set a poor example of democratic institutions for their learners. Researchers recognize that many South African educators are bound up in apathy; in some schools it is not uncommon for a teacher to show up late to class or not at all. They find convenient excuses for nonattendance and demonstrate little commitment or accountability (Harber & Mncube, 2012). Yet, dedicated teachers, well-trained administrations, and basic institutional structure is necessary to create effective classrooms. Graeme Bloch argues that the dysfunctional nature of many schools in South Africa is not only a problem for success in terms of outcomes, such as test scores and examination results, but also inhibits learners' support for democracy. Learners often 'learn by example.' If that example is marked by inefficiency, poor teacher attendance, lack of institutional order, corruption, and intolerance how can we expect them to walk out of the classroom supporting the same regime in which these problems are taking place? In their classrooms they are taught the wonderful ideals of democracy yet their experiences contradict. These institutional issues need to be a priority in education reform; for without a functioning school system positive socialization and civic lessons cannot be effective (Bloch, 2009).

This is not to say that all South African schools are experiencing such struggles. Facilities do not need to be flawless machines to institute these mechanisms but should to be in basic functioning order. According to Harber and Muthukrishna, such functioning schools should exhibit "orderly, purposeful and calm atmosphere with clean premises and businesslike behavior." Teachers and learners should be in class as expected and learners should be able to experience a full day's curriculum each and every day (Harber & Muthukrishna, 2000, p. 430). At that point, civic responsibility can be more successfully communicated and imparted.

With all of this in mind, it should be remembered that the context under which OBE was developed and implemented added greatly to the compulsion for quick, albeit rash, change. The newly elected democratic government had an uphill battle in front of them to prove to the public and the world that they were capable of quick and significant reform. At the time, South Africa was ranked the lowest out of 46 similarly developed countries in terms of its human resources development performance (World Competitiveness Yearbook, 1996) and felt both internal and international pressure to produce educational results to satisfy the masses, even if this meant instituting, at minimum, a symbolic change. Such urgency certainly contributed to the fact that the process was not thoroughly conceptualized or properly executed or resourced (C2005 Review Report, 2000).

The final key problem in education reform was the lack of educator training and professional development. Even under ideal conditions, the vague and complex curriculum changes would have been

difficult for educators to follow, manage, and implement. The lack of proper educator orientation and training only exacerbated this issue. At the end of the day, OBE left too much to the imagination. Not only did it not give teachers sufficient instructions for implementation, its very foundation in democratic exposure was too implied for learners to recognize and absorb. Subtle methods of group discussion, debate, and problem-solving are meant to give an understanding of democracy implicitly, where learners pick up on the so-called democratic mannerisms. However, because these methods are so subtle, they require highly-skilled and well-trained educators – the like that were hard to find in South African schools considering the lack of training and history of oppressive education policies for the majority of the population.

On top of all of this, deliberate attention should have been paid to the personal reflections and afflictions of educators who were products of the apartheid era. Such teachers may need to overcome the influence of apartheid ideology before being capable of teaching equality and tolerance in the classroom. Unless quite young, educators today are likely to have directly experienced apartheid and many have taught under the apartheid system. In the words of Dylan Wray, co-founder and executive director of Shikaya,

> "In 1994 some would have supported and some would have been against [the apartheid regime] but now in 1996 they had to change focus and teach a very human rights focused curriculum. There was some training on OBE but very little support for teachers to have the conversation about what it means to be a teacher – to move from either very comfortably not supporting human rights or not even seeing their role as a teacher even having anything to do with human rights to now being *the* key way that our country will develop new human rights appreciating citizens… crucially, if they don't have the ability to engage with what it means then they are less likely to teach it." (D. Wray, personal communication, September 5, 2013)

If educators spend much of their lives, including the critical adolescent period, within a fundamentally undemocratic society, the concepts and ideals of democracy may not be second nature. These individuals require a means to understand how the transition to democracy affects them as educators and must grapple with their own conception of it in order to properly bring democratic notions into their classrooms.

All of the aforementioned issues plaguing the post-1994 education system have a significant impact on the capacity for teaching students effectively and promoting the civic responsibility intended in the curriculum. Each one is highly relevant in the discussion of education reform and will require attention and remedy in order to develop primary and secondary schooling. However, the key focus of this research lies in improving and supplementing teacher training. Teacher training can serve as a practical tool for offsetting the negative effects of the deficits within education. For example, policy makers can smooth the transition to new curriculums through supplemental orientation and instruction of constructive pedagogies. Professional development gives teachers the content knowledge and pedagogical skills they need to succeed in their classrooms and the support they may be lacking from the administration. Research shows that by improving their skills and knowledge, teachers' sense of

efficacy[5] in the classroom is also significantly increased which leaves them feeling more energized and motivated as well as more capable of engaging their students (Barr, 2010).

Reinventing the school system to fix structural and institutional challenges would be an expansive and expensive project requiring significant time, funding, and personnel. As previously discussed, South Africa already has a public education spending ratio of 6% of its GDP and further fiscal increases are not a viable option. However, teacher training doesn't require much in terms of resources, especially if spearheaded by the private sector or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Change can be actualized with small investments and can be pursued through either national policy reform or through auxiliary services with which the government can connect, such as Shikaya.

1.4 State of Democratic Commitment of Youth in South Africa

A history lesson on the progression of the national curriculum is remiss without further investigation of the present-day problems the nation is encountering with democratic commitment. Regardless of intense curriculum reform and a national allegiance to teaching democratic ideals, the South African youth have been wary of democratic commitment. Surprisingly, there is a great lack of information or research on the level of youth political participation. While there appears to be an air of dissatisfaction with participation levels few have researched beyond voter turnout to determine involvement in civil society, protests and demonstrations, or the likelihood of targeting policy makers through letters or petitions.

Overall, the voter turnout numbers have dropped significantly over the years. Within the first ten years of democracy, turnout at elections fell from 86% in 1994 to only 56% in 2004: a thirty percent drop. (Mpulo, 2012). Among these voters, the youth are quickly becoming the least represented. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of South Africa, with the assistance of Statistics South Africa, completed a study following the 2011 census to analyze the distribution of the roughly 31.4 million eligible voters in the country. They found that only 10% of 18 and 19 year olds were registered with the lowest percentage of 4% registered in the Western Cape ("Percentage Registered Voters"). Furthermore, the South African Social Cohesion Barometer, released by the Human Sciences Research Council in 2011, showed that South Africans between the ages of 16 and 19 are significantly less civically cohesive than their older counterparts. According to their measures, this basically means that they are unlikely to participate in their perceived civic duties such as voting (Roberts et al., 2011). Admittedly, these statistics compare youth to the older generation rather than to the youth of this past, which may be more telling. [6]

Such results are not surprising considering the international trend of politically apathetic youth. Where they stray from international trends, however, is in their lack of support for democracy as an institution. An empirical study by Mattes, Denemark, and Niemi (2012) found that only 60% of Cape Town students

[5] The measured variables of efficacy which measured as significantly higher than the control group included feeling of personal accomplishment, professional expertise, leadership and growth, and satisfaction with professional development experiences.

[6] There is limited information regarding the civic commitment of young South Africans. Pointedly, no research could be found comparing the democratic commitments of the born free generation to former youth generations.

say that democracy is always preferable to authoritarianism and only 45% say that it is important for them to live in a democratic country. Surprisingly large numbers were either indifferent toward or supported ideas such as eliminating elections and Parliament or allowing military government. In line with these findings is the notion that these born frees may be attempting to influence politics through more immediate and 'extralegal' solutions. The South African Reconciliation Barometer for 2012 found that twice as many youth as adults have reported resorting to violence: one out of five South African youth (under 35) report being involved in a violent protest in the past year compared to only one in ten adults (over 35). It further found that more youth than adults tend to believe that the law is open to interpretation and bending (SA Reconciliation Barometer, 2012).

There has been further empirical research conducted in recent years which reiterate these same findings. Dr. Robert Mattes (2012) utilized an empirical investigation of the Afrobarometer survey data from 2000 to 2008 to examine South African's commitment to democracy with specific attention paid to generational differences. This work provides preliminary evidence that the Born Free generation is less committed to democracy than other generation. Another significant work by Mattes, along with Richard Niemi and David Denemark (2012), titled "Learning Democracy? Civic Education in South Africa's First Post-Apartheid Generation," takes a deeper look at high school learners' demand for democracy within 45 metropolitan schools in Cape Town. Overall, the results of this detailed research demonstrate that learners' knowledge of politics and understanding of democratic processes, procedures, and citizenship are highly related to their demand for democracy. Surprisingly, participation in extra-curricular civic education courses, which are specifically designed to enhance learners' understanding of and appreciation for tolerance and rule of law, were actually correlated with reduced levels of democratic commitment. The authors call for more exploration on this finding. This provides opportunity for my project to offer clarity through a more focused analysis to demonstrate whether and why Shikaya teaching methods may succeed where others have failed.

All of this suggests that perhaps the new democratic curriculum has yet to impart its desired civic commitments on a significant proportion of South African learners and has therefore not been as effective as anticipated. As previously stated, authors attest this inadequacy to various factors including structural challenges of the shifting curriculum, a disruptive institutional order, and a severe lack of educator training. Overreaching reform is impractical considering the cost of resources. However, educator training provides a sustainable solution, especially when spearheaded by private enterprise, and holds the potential to offset the negative implications of curricular and institutional deficits. Such professional development can give educators valuable pedagogies through which to teach civic education to their learners. The proceeding chapter will examine the use of civic education in democratic socialization and will further explore and elaborate on the pedagogies of civic education in theory and in practice in South Africa.

Chapter Two: Setting the Stage

2.1 Civic Education: Conceptualization

> *If the young were born literate, there would be no need to teach them literature; if they were born citizens, there would be no need to teach them civic responsibility.*
>
> *-Schoeman, 2010, p. 135*

This chapter examines the conceptualization of civic education and its purposes and methods in producing civically responsible citizens. This entails a clarification of the definition and meaning of civic education including an understanding of its history and use as a socializing agent in society. It takes the previous discussion on the civic ideals and objectives stated in the national curriculum and sheds light on how these can be achieved through teacher pedagogies. Furthermore, it examines the meaning of civic responsibility in the South African context, the characteristics which promote a civically responsible citizen, and how these can be affected and enhanced through specific pedagogies within civic education. In short, it covers what civic education is, what educators should be trying to teach, and the ways in which they should teach it. Finally, it concludes by applying this information to Shikaya's Facing the Past pedagogies to further examine the test example for this research.

In the most comprehensive definition, civic education pertains to all of the socializing agents acting in one's life which affect his or her perceptions of and actions within a community. In this sense it is not necessarily deliberate or intentional but may be inculcated as a lifelong process through various institutions including family, media, education, and religion. Nevertheless, most scholarship pertaining to 'civic education' utilizes the more narrow definition where it is equated to deliberate learner programs within school systems. It regards education as a purposeful institution rather than an effect of cultural agents and can be alternatively deemed 'civic schooling.' It is this classification which will be utilized for the purposes of our discussion. For the sake of clarification, from this point forward civic education will refer to that which takes place within the school system and other specialized education programs and will be used interchangeably with the term civic schooling.

This emphasis on schooling for civic education is appropriate for a policy perspective. Socialization processes begin at birth and take place mostly through private functions within the home, at religious meetings, on the street or in front of a television or computer screen. Yet education, however inadequate, provides a *public* resource which falls under the national political sphere of influence. While individuals gain an understanding of their social world from many institutions, a nation has a level of control over schooling which does not exist with other modes of socialization. What learners are taught in the classroom can confirm, complement, or counteract such knowledge; this learning experience may be limited but it is "the only place where we, as a collective, self-conscious public… try to shape our children to live in a democratic world" (Schoeman, 2010, p. 134). South Africa has recognized this use for education; in the National Development Plan: A vision for 2030 the chapter on education states:

> "School, unlike families, can enable the fostering of common values across language, culture, religion, race, class, and space." "It is therefore important that children learn at school to: Appreciate diversity through respect and tolerance, know how to cope in an ever-changing

> environment, and help transform the national character of SA by teaching that rights come with responsibilities" (p. 425)

Granted, research has shown that the influence of schooling on the civic values of learners pales in comparison to the influence exerted by other agents, mainly family and the media (Murphy, 2004; Niemi and Junn, 1999). However, in a liberal democratic society, there is little to no state control over these spheres of life. Therefore, education becomes the golden ticket for reaching a nation's youth and civic education the means for political socialization.

Research on the effect of civic education, particularly with regards to its use as a socializing agent, is not new to the academic scene. Notions of republican civic education in public schools were first proposed in the eighteenth century by philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Baron Turgot. These notions have since been under continuous development and consideration. They have been adapted for various purposes across the globe and within various regime types. Notably, civic (or democracy) education was utilized during the post-war ideological shift in Germany and Japan. It has been further utilized for democratic socialization in other countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and for democratic reproduction in countries such as the United States, Sweden, and Australia. Its application includes various methods including community engagement, action-research, and inclusion in school curriculums. Over the years, it has become an increasingly important topic for governments, administrators, and educators for the actualization of active and engaged youth. [7]

For our purposes, this paper focuses on the theory of civic education within democratic societies. The modern insemination of such democratic civic education is largely founded on the wide-ranging works of John Dewey. Dewey created theory for learning-centered education and was the first major proponent for the teaching of life skills in the classroom. His theory, founded on constructivist thought, incorporates notions of socialization through schooling. Education is perceived as inherently linked to democracy and therefore should be utilized as a socializing agent in democratic societies. In *My Pedagogic Creed*, Dewey holds that education is "a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness; and that the adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction."(p. 15). In other words, in order to create citizens reflective of a democratic social consciousness the individual activity of each learner needs to be steeped in democratic characteristics.

However, it should be noted that a very fine line is drawn between the encouragement of civic responsibility through education and an indoctrination of the democratic agenda. It is imperative that a nation restrain from pursuing civic education for purely political means; historical instances have proven this a dangerous undertaking. Civic education is not necessarily democratic in nature nor does it exist in isolation from the environment within which it is conducted. Rather, its lessons are relative to specific

[7] For further research on civic education worldwide see: Fisher, J. (2007). Disciplining Germany: Youth, Re-education, and Reconstruction after the Second World War. *Wayne State University Press*; Ikeno, N. (2005). Citizenship Education in Japan After World War II. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education*, 1 (2); Finkel, S. (2002). Civic Education and the Mobilization of Political Participation in Developing Democracies. *Journal of Politics*, 64 (4), 994-1020

regime-types and polities and therefore vary considerably from country to country. As stated by Dewey (1944), "The conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind." (p. 97).

What are we trying to teach? Civic knowledge, civic skill and civic values

At the foundation of civic education lie certain questions – What are our intended outcomes of civic education? What types of learners are we looking to render and for what type of society? Obviously such questions are largely founded on the political and social environment of any particular case. For example, how that would be answered in 1930s Germany would be markedly different from how it is answered contemporarily in the United States. Even within a modern democratic society there is much debate over what we are pursuing with civic education in schools. This has been broken down by various scholars and in various ways and there is little consistency across the literature. Acquired civic traits as well as types of citizenry are inconsistently labeled. However, there appears to be an overall trend and underlying consensus distinguishing between traits based on civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic values. These are explicitly outlined in Margaret Stimman and Charles Quigley's, "The Role of Civic Education" (1998) and indirectly related to terms defined in works by Murphy (2004), Galston (2007), and Westheimer and Kahne (2003; 2004b).

The least controversial of these three categories are civic knowledge and civic skills. Often, they are uncontested outcomes because of their lack of moral significance. Civic knowledge pertains mainly to those facts and concepts at the base of civic affairs; this may include functions and institutions of government, political history, democratic philosophy, and the classifications of citizenship (Murphy, 2004). Prior to 1998, scholars assumed a connection between civic education and civic knowledge but were wary to claim any real effects due to a lack of statistical support. However, Richard Niemi and Jane Junn statistically verified this consensus with their 1998 study, *Civic Education: What Makes Learner's Learn.* They found that United States civics courses, which had been taken recently, focused on a large variety of topics, and incorporated current events, fostered significantly greater civic knowledge among participants (Galston, 2007; Murphy 2004; Niemi & Junn, 1999). In line with this study and particularly significant for our purposes, a more recent study by Finkel and Ernst (2005) found that civics education in South Africa had a substantial impact on learners' basic civic knowledge; the magnitude of this effect was roughly double that found by Niemi and Junn (1998).[8]

Such studies have created a consensus among researchers that general civics education does in fact encourage outcomes of increased civic knowledge.[9] Such knowledge is desired within any civic-based education and lays the foundation for the informed use of other outcomes such as civic skills and values. However, this knowledge base may be necessary but not sufficient for a healthy democratic society. In order to make use of this knowledge, citizens require the toolbox of civic skills. Murphy (2004) defines these as "the trained capacities for deploying civic knowledge in the pursuit of civic goals, such as voting,

[8] The impact on groups exposed to civics instructions on at least a weekly basis was upwards of 10% more than the groups who received it less or not at all (Finkel and Ernst, 2005)

[9] For further research on effects of civics education on civic knowledge see Morduchowics et al 1996, Soule 2000, and Torney-Purta et al 2001.

protesting, petitioning, canvassing, and debating" (p. 224). These verb-based skills are the actions that one takes in society as a participatory citizen, as defined by Westheimer and Kahne (2004b). Proponents of creating such participatory citizens encourage schools and civics courses to prepare learners for political engagement from the local to the international level; it is about putting their acquired civic knowledge to use to actively contribute to civic society.

It is the *culmination* of civic knowledge and civic skills which creates this participatory citizen, for aptitude in one area but not the other is inherently bound up in apathy. If a citizen possesses great civic knowledge without the driving force of trained civic skills, knowledge becomes mere latent force. Meanwhile, those who actively utilize their civic skills to participate without a knowledge base are wasting energy; consider citizens protesting outside the local council about a lack of housing when the council doesn't actually have any authority over housing policy or a group campaigning for a new law that is actually against the constitution and therefore hardly possible. A citizen needs knowledge to base decisions on – decisions which lead to effective civic action. This combination of knowledge and skills rarely meets pushback in the education community; most can agree that having an understanding of civic procedures and the capacity to carry them out are desirable traits in any citizen.

Yet, once again, this knowledge and skills duo may be necessary but not sufficient for a healthy democracy. After all, civic knowledge and skills can be put into use in various ways, including immoral political conduct. An understanding of how a system works can be utilized for self-interested political ends where the system is exploited and the pursuit for oneself is of greater concern than the common good (Murphy, 2004). Here lies potential for means of deception, manipulation, and coercion which are certainly not signs of a healthy and vibrant democratic polity. This is where the notion of civic values come into discussion.

Contention arises upon the discussion of civic values. This is partially due to the ambiguity and moral relativity of the term. When speaking about civic values the traits to be included are still unclear. There is the idea of the personally responsible citizen whose values often include strong character, responsibility, honesty, integrity, self-discipline, and hard work. There is further a patriotic citizen characterized by conscientious concern for the common good, zeal for public service, rule of law, and love for the nation. Finally, civic values can be more justice based with notions of multicultural tolerance, commitment to human rights of equality, and respect for democratic procedure. (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003; Westheimer and Kahne, 2004; Murphy, 2004). What becomes vital in this discussion is to disaggregate those civic values which can hold true within any society or polity from those which pertain more to open and free democracy. Notions of honesty, integrity, hard work, love for the nation, and others are laudable and are often pursued within civic education. However, these traits are not necessarily democratic in nature. They may exist in any form of polity and are equally laudable in communism, monarchy, or democracy. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) distinguish these as traits of the *personally responsible citizen*. Meanwhile, there are traits which represent and contribute to a more democratic nature – traits such as tolerance, commitment to equality and liberty, and the like. These are a closer representation of Westheimer and Kahne's *justice-oriented citizen* which integrate civic knowledge and civic skills with civic values (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003; Westheimer & Kahne 2004).

These components are not sequentially connected. Rather, each influences and affects the others. The link between civic knowledge and civic skills seems natural; in order to properly execute political acts one must have the relevant information. Yet the link between the accumulation of civic knowledge and civic values is less apparent. In regards to civic values, why should it matter if learners know who their provincial Premier is or understand how a law is passed through parliament? Yet research shows a vital connection. Collectively, recent empirical research conducted in the United States outlines the various civic assets affected by increased levels of civic knowledge with focus on seven main findings. Mainly, increased civic knowledge increases citizen support for democratic self-government, encourages political participation, creates an understanding of and interest in group membership, presupposes further learning about contemporary civic affairs, decreases mistrust in public life, improves the consistency of citizens' political views, and alters citizens' opinions of civic issues through decreased political ignorance. Therefore, working to raise levels of civic knowledge in a nation's citizenry would be an effective strategy and vital foundation for the revitalization of democratic citizenship (Galston, 2007; Galston, 2003).

As previously stated, the political and social environment of a nation determines which of these traits are coveted and what kind of citizen the nation hopes to develop. In South Africa citizenship aspirations have been established and reiterated through official documents over the past 20 years. Essentially, the nation promotes active citizenship as a moral concept in which active and informed engagement is necessary to ensure the peace of the nation through civic values of tolerance, equality, and human rights. This is especially articulated in documents concerning education. The first White Paper on education in the democratic South Africa highlights the importance of civic responsibility and propones the use of education to empower citizens to participate confidently and constructively in social and civic life (Department of Education, 1995). The more recent statement in the 2011 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) on the Social Sciences states a clear aim to develop lifelong learners who are capable of participation in society as a critical and active citizen (Department of Education, 2011, p. 8). Also, outside of the education sector, the National Development Plan's 2030 vision declares a need for citizens of South Africa to move from a passive to active view of their role in society. It couples this with a strong statement of the values emphasized such as mutual respect, inclusiveness, and "appreciation of the responsibilities and obligations that citizens have towards one another." (National Planning Commission, p. 25).

These statements reiterate the key intention of South Africa to promote active citizenship where electorates recognize their right and *responsibility* to participate in society. Citizens should both feel that they have the capacity to incite change and actually utilize that capacity for the well-being of themselves and all other citizens. Here, it is important to highlight the difference between valuing action and taking action. Citizens need to acknowledge the value of action by understanding their capacity in society. However, just valuing action does not lead to action unless citizens have the necessary civic knowledge and skills.

This notion is less addressed in the literature: how do civic knowledge, skills, and values turn into action? We have stated that a civically responsible citizen in South Africa is one who not only values action but actually actively participates in society. So what is it that purposes people to take action or, equally,

what stops people from taking action? Oftentimes inaction stems from a sense of apathy founded in a sense of powerlessness or a lack of interest. People won't take an active role in society if they feel that it won't make a difference. The missing links in the equation are a sense of efficacy and motivation. Feeling that one *can* affect change is efficacy, which is founded on the civic knowledge, skills, and values we have spoken so much about. Knowledge, skills, and values make one capable of action and help them realize that capacity. Yet inciting action also requires a sense of motivation. People may be motivated to act for a number of reasons including personal interest or a sense of community engagement. Either way, this motivation comes from one valuing action and feeling that one *should* participate. What this essentially means is that gaining civic knowledge, skills, and values increases one's sense of civic efficacy. This, coupled with motivation, is what leads to action and produces the civically responsible citizen.

In order to pursue and develop these aspects of responsible citizenship through education, South Africa must discover the means to promote the values embedded in the national curriculum. The curriculum content is already geared towards encouraging active citizenship. Yet many skills and values are not only taught through content but also via pedagogies. The way information is presented and the methods utilized to engage students can have a profound effect on the way they process curricular knowledge. These pedagogies will be discussed in more detail in the next subsection.

Civic Education in Practice: Pedagogy

As discussed, civic education must focus on more than the political facts and figures in order to create and promote good citizenship. So how do we go about this within the school system? Now that an understanding of the philosophical formulation of civic education has been reached, what does it actually look like in practice? This section investigates the fundamentals for a society-based education, with special regard to John Dewey's work, and more specific attention paid to the fundamentals for a democratic-based education through the works of Joseph Kahne, Joel Westheimer.

The foundations of civic education theory stem from John Dewey and his perception of the role of education in society. His fundamental message is that an education which rears learners ready for social engagement must be stimulating and founded on critical thinking and engagement. His theme focuses on how a learner can gain moral and civic values through personal interaction with and relatability to school material. At the time of Dewey's conception of civic education, schooling focused mainly on well-defined building blocks of tested knowledge. Learning was focused on the so-called "Three R's" of reading, writing and arithmetic which formed the foundation for basic skills-oriented education. School curriculums were based on the idea of knowledge as a "substantive thing… considered to exist for its own sake and to be all-important." (Dewey, 1956, p. 8). It was stripped of critical reflection and active engagement and focused more on distributing a fixed body of subject-matter to successive generations. This is what Paulo Freire (1972) famously called 'banking' or making deposits of knowledge. Meanwhile, the methods of education preached by Dewey were meant to bring life to school curriculum and re-energize and engage learners by introducing relatable conceptions of subject material into classrooms. Learners become something to be related to rather than objects to be acted upon. He states, "Abandon the notion of subject-matter as something fixed and ready-made in itself, outside the child's experience;

cease thinking of the child's experience as also something hard and fast; see it as something fluent, embryonic, vital; and we realize that the child and the curriculum are simply two limits which define a single process" (Dewey, 1956, p. 11).

Fundamental to his theory is the belief that education must engage with and enlarge the experiences of learners through pedagogy, or the method of educating, founded in interaction, reflection, and personal connections. Pedagogies do not only entail the lecture style but also the extra resources utilized to clarify and enhance curricular knowledge; this includes interactive class activities, supplemental readings, educational videos, and student projects. Such pedagogies are purposed to bring a personal dimension to learning. Instead of using a pedagogy which just assigns abstract concepts and fills learners with empty knowledge educators should employ one which brings class lessons to life by relating the curriculum to learners' own experiences. If deprived of this connection, Dewey warns that subject material will remain purely formal and symbolic, a lump sum of information without logical value and this will inherently lead to a lack of motivation within learners. His works focus on all subjects of schooling from physical sciences and mathematics to literature and politics. However, his focus on *democratization* through education has set much of modern conception of civic education.

The content of the curriculum and the methods used in educator pedagogies are both vital but target very different areas. Curriculum content relates to the information a learner should gain through classroom lessons. For the purpose of civic education, this is equated to civic knowledge. However, the means by which this knowledge is conveyed can give students sense of efficacy and motivation. South Africa's curriculum contains the necessary knowledge base desired outcomes but the teachers may lack the pedagogical capacity to give this knowledge relatable and practical application. The necessary skills to become active in society cannot be garnered from the curriculum content alone but must be inculcated through pedagogical methods using connections and relations. Through such academic pedagogies and strategies, educators may impress upon learners a sense of civic efficacy by simultaneously enhancing their civic knowledge and skills.

Let's elaborate on this difference with an example. One target of the national curriculum is the identification and examination of modern social problems and controversial issues in society. Although there is a tendency for educators to shy away from difficult or heavy subjects it is imperative that these not be diluted. Learners need to understand the severity of problems in society which require improvement in order to appreciate the need for action. This curriculum should also outline important information on how such problems have been addressed in the past or how they may be addressed in the future. This is an example of civic knowledge. Now, it is the educator pedagogy that can make the critical connection between social critique, analysis, and action. Lessons should be substantiated by pedagogies which give learners exposure to actual civic participation. Positive experiences in active participation provide learners with the capacity for action, or skills, so they may put their knowledge to use. As discussed earlier, civic knowledge can only go so far without practical skills. Civics courses and programs should teach learners to see themselves as active agents and give them real strategies to engage in society and effect change. These could be hands-on community projects which help them develop skills such as public speaking, action research, creating presentations, facilitating meetings, local canvassing, or creating surveys (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003). The combination of the curricular

knowledge and active skills-based pedagogy gives students both the knowledge and the tools to create change in society, thereby enhancing their perception of self-efficacy. This sense of efficacy then influences the types of activities that learners chose to engage in. According to Haste and Hogan (2006), efficacy is a crucial element and sometimes an impetus for civic engagement; understanding a learner's values does not explain whether they feel think that their action is valuable and effective or powerless and futile.

Finally, active participation is usually impelled by a sense of motivation. This can be actualized through feeling a connection to and within a civic community. An active democracy is inherently founded in community where interaction and connections are key. Pedagogies which promote this focus on creating a sense of community for learners to empathize with and engage; such pedagogies inspire notions of the collective as being on par with the self. Therefore, educators may direct their lessons towards an explanation that 'good citizenship' is not only attributed to personal attributes but further to their interactions among individuals within a democratic community. Just as being on a sports team energizes youth towards a common goal, so can being a part of a civically engaged community. For example, a passive pedagogy may assign a reading about a contemporary issue in society with the intention of students being able to reproduce an understanding of the information. Meanwhile, an active pedagogy would then ask students to relate this issue to their own lives and community. It would envelop them within the lesson therefore prohibiting a sense of distinction between the learner and the social issue. Learners can be informed about the legacy of apartheid or they can be taught to discover the legacy in their own lives and circumstances.

This sense of connection is further enhanced by pedagogies which expose learners to civic role models: every day individuals who exemplify positive civic engagement. Such individuals provide examples of the possibility of a life filled with civic engagement and may give learners a lifestyle to strive for. In total, the curriculum content can develop learners' civic knowledge about the issues plaguing society while the pedagogies develop the skillset necessary to combat these issues in civic life and a sense of understanding of their role and belonging within the civic community. By developing learners' commitments, capacities, and connections, educators are capable of producing an active and personable classroom and promoting democratic engagement (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

These connections and relations can be introduced to learners through a range of pedagogical strategies including leadership courses, lessons in national history, action-research agendas, and community service projects. According to Kahne and Westheimer, successful programs, regardless of particular strategy, all utilize hands-on and interactive pedagogies to promote democratic commitments, capacities, and connection to others with similar goals. Together, they represent means for creating relatable and engaging classrooms which bring civic education to life.

2.2 Civic Education in Practice: South African Example

To bring consideration back to the South African context, lets reconsider the previous quote from the first White Paper on education from 1995:

> "The education system must counter the legacy of violence by promoting the values underlying the democratic process and the charter of fundamental rights, the importance to due process of law and the *exercise of civic responsibility*… Thus peace and stability will become the natural condition of our schools and colleges, and *citizens will be empowered to participate confidently and constructively in social and civic life* [emphasis added]."

Clearly, the goals of South African education are in perfect congruence with those outlined by proponents of civic education. The ambition has been to give learners the tools necessary to be able to uphold civic responsibility and to be capable of active participation in democratic society. Yet, as previously discussed, there has been an obvious disconnect between ambition and outcome. The national curriculum in South Africa was quick to propose and push civic values but was at a severe resource disadvantage in pursuing basic civic knowledge. Further notions of civic skills were completely left out of the picture. Therefore they may have been able to create compassionate and morally sound citizens but not citizens with any capacity to engage with political society: tolerant but complacent, patriotic but unguided. According to research conducted by the Programme to Support Pro-Poor Policy Development in South Africa, the youngest age cohort of participants, between 16 and 19 years of age, demonstrate significantly higher levels of tolerance – especially towards immigrants and homosexuals; they further had much more interracial contact, felt less discriminated against, and were fairly satisfied with life. However, their level of civic cohesion, especially important in the South African context, was much lower than their older counterparts and they were found to be less likely to participate in civic life (Roberts et al., 2011). This deficiency has been noted and many non-governmental organizations have stepped in over the years to fill in the gap. [10]

One such organization is Shikaya: a non-profit civil society organization working out of Cape Town. Its lessons are based on and supported by its partner organization, Facing History and Ourselves based out of Boston, United States. These partner organizations have developed methods of civic education which provide teachers with professional development and material resources that supplement national curricula to help learners understand their role as active citizens in society. Their method of civic education has been implemented in the United States since 1976 and in South Africa since 2003. According to a 2012 report, at the end of 2001 over 275 teachers and curriculum advisors representing 60 schools have received training through Shikaya's weeklong seminars (Rappaport, 2012). Shikaya's main educator program, Facing the Past – Transforming our Future, provides the test model of specialized civic education in this research.[11]

The Facing the Past – Transforming our Future project is a professional development program which provides curriculum support to teachers to aid them in promoting human rights and a sense of individual responsibility in the classroom. Formulation of the project began in 2003 by the Western Cape Education Department in conjunction with the Cape Town Holocaust Center and Facing History and

[10] For more information about these programs, including USAID funded Street Law "Democracy for All" and the Constitutional Literacy Service Initiative (CLASI), see Finkel & Ernst 2005; Mattes, Denemark and Niemi, 2012.

[11] Shikaya is funded by the following sponsors: the Open Society Foundation for Southern Africa (OSISA), the DG Murray Trust, Atlantic Philanthropies, the Rosa Luxemberg Foundation, Wallace Global, and the Och and Bernstein families.

Ourselves. The program was later implemented and managed in 2005 by Shikaya (Tibbitts, 2006). The program addresses the four case-studies as required by the national curriculum – the Holocaust, United States Civil Rights Movement, Eugenics, and Apartheid – with special attention paid to the role of individual choice and the necessary connection to modern problems in society. In implementing the program, Shikaya provides in-depth workshops, supplemental resources, and personal professional guidance. Often times, the resource materials have been developed by Facing History and Ourselves for use in the United States and have been readapted by Shikaya for the South African context. These include worksheet books, lecture DVDs, teacher guides for films or documentaries, lesson plans, et cetera.

For some teachers, especially in low-resourced schools, simply the physical materials and guides provide substantial support and may be of greatest use. Having material resources with which to help learners engage is vital in any classroom but oftentimes there is a severe lack in low-resourced schools. The teaching manual not only gives teachers resources and lesson tools but further links the lessons to the specific outcomes of the national curriculum to help teachers make the connection between policy and implementation. For example, the lesson activity plan about political choices in Weimar Germany purposely addresses specific national Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards (1, 2 and 3) [12] through a group analysis of political posters and manifestos from the Communist Party, the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP-Nazi), and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The lesson instructs learners to make comparisons and connections to present-day posters and manifestos and they are further instructed to analyze personal narrative sources from Weimar Germany to answer the lesson question: What political choices did Germans have in Weimar Germany ("Getting History")?

While such physical resources and lesson plans are a vital asset for teachers, they only compose a fraction of the support provided by Shikaya. The actual teacher training, which takes place within Shikaya's workshops and seminars, engages teachers in a reevaluation of their teaching philosophy, methods, and pedagogies. These workshops and seminars are designed to be experiential; teachers themselves are engaging in the methodologies that their learners will later complete. They are reading the same materials, engaging in the same forms of discussion, and grappling with the same lessons regarding identity, historical events, and individual participation. This hands-on engagement is a crucial piece of Shikaya's work; while curriculum content is undeniably important, the pedagogies used to communicate and impart lessons are equally important and tend to be lacking nation-wide. While it has already been stated that low-resource schools face the problem of deficient physical resources, teachers across the board suffer from lack of training and concrete pedagogies. For them, content knowledge can be attained through other sources and means but there are no organizations that give pedagogies and different ways of teaching.

This experiential approach also creates a space for teachers themselves to engage with what it means to be a South African teacher in the post-apartheid environment. The majority of teachers in South Africa

[12] Learning Outcome 1: Analyses the information in the sources; Learning Outcome 2: Explains and analyses the reasons for and results of events in history; Learning Outcome 3: Constructs an interpretation based on sources giving reasons for own interpretation (source interpretation)

either taught during apartheid or grew up during this time and they still work and live in an environment heavily affected by apartheid. The seminars allow them a safe space to reflect on these experiences and how it affects the way they teach, where they teach, and the environment that they create within their classrooms. When the curriculum changes took place after 1994, teachers had to contend with a major shift to a human-rights focused curriculum. While there was some minimal training on the new curriculum there was almost no support for teachers in tackling this shift in the values they teach. Previously, education had been a product of apartheid and was utilized to further breed its inequalities. However, now teachers had to not only grapple with their own opinions on integration and democracy but, further, became *the* key way that the country would develop new human-rights appreciating citizens (paraphrased from Dylan Wray interview). Shikaya's seminars seek to produce a forum for these issues to be addressed in order to help educators make connections between the past and their own lives so that they can better help their learners to do the same.

How may this promote democratic students?

Let's remember that education for democracy should enhance civic knowledge, skills, and values to create a sense of efficacy as well as motivation for action through relatable pedagogies. These traits are the foundation for a democratic citizen who is both participatory and justice-oriented and they stem from an active and engaging classroom. Therefore, in order for one to assume that Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming our Future program will produce democratic citizens, it must be demonstrated to create an atmosphere of learning which incorporates these elements. In Shikaya methodology, teachers utilize history lessons, based on impartial knowledge, to encourage students to reevaluate their modern societal problems and the role they play within them. This exploration of history and oneself if comprised of lessons investigating five specific themes which are defined by Shikaya as follows ("Journey"):

> **The Individual and Society**: The journey begins by looking at the complex issues around individual identity, starting with such questions as: Who am I? How do I define myself? How do I define others? Learners examine how identity is linked to decision-making, and discuss the impact that choices made by individuals have on society
>
> **We and They**: The journey then broadens to an exploration of identity as it relates to groups and nations. How does a nation define itself? Who decides who belongs and who doesn't?
>
> **The History**: With that foundation, learners explore how issues of identity and membership, inclusion and exclusion, play out at one particular moment in history. During this part of the journey, learners engage in a rigorous investigation of both Nazi Germany and the Holocaust and apartheid South Africa and confront the moral questions inherent in these histories and discover that even the smallest choices can, indeed, make a difference.
>
> **Judgment, Memory and Legacy**: Focusing on the role of the individual in history, learners then consider the question: Who was responsible? Learners explore questions of good and evil, guilt and responsibility, prevention and punishment; and the ways in which we remember the past and how those memories shape the present.

> **Choosing to Participate**: Finally, learners reflect on their own roles as citizens in a democracy and embark on what we hope is a life-long commitment to responsible participation in the world, continually asking, "How can I make a difference?" It is in this final part of the journey that learners see how they and other are responsible for making the world a better place.

These themes comprise the broad outline for the Facing the Past training within which more specific lessons and pedagogies exist. Here it is clear to see that the program focuses on creating classrooms that are highly interactive and personally reflective. The training is founded on knowledge, as necessary for high school learners, but then takes history education a step further by bringing it into interpretation within the modern context. Learners are encouraged to understand how these events shape our present conditions and how their personal action or inaction will shape the future. Interaction with difficult material regarding past events enhances student's knowledge of civic matters. By relating these to modern societal problems, educators create the necessary ethical pull for student motivation and commitment by demonstrating to learners that society needs improving and that it is up to them to work for change. To put this into context, of the many resources provided by Shikaya, teachers are given the Sourcing the Past Resource Manual to aid in teaching themes of social Darwinism, eugenics, and apartheid. This manual provides educators with powerful and engaging sources and stories. The accompanying questions engage learners in an exploration of history through 'issues of identity, membership, human behavior and choice, and judgment' that are equally relevant in their historical context as they are today.

Other major programs and pedagogies with the Facing the Past may help to enhance learners' capacities and values. Skills for social action are encouraged through such resources as the film "Where Do I Stand?" and accompanying lesson plan. The film documents the xenophobic attacks that broke out across South Africa in May 2008 and illustrates the standpoints of seven youth, their personal actions during the violence, and how they are making sense of those choices. This, along with the accompanying classroom activity guide, teaches learners about the moral dilemmas faced in South African society and helps youth examine their own behavior and thinking. By introducing the relatable examples of young South Africans, the film shows learners that they are actively participating in history and civic society through their decisions and actions and it demonstrates real strategies to effect change.

Another large component of the Shikaya's training lies in the development of open and respectful classrooms. According to the National Professional Development and Evaluation project in the United States, the purpose of Facing History and Ourselves, and thus forth Shikaya, is as follows:

1. Create safer and more engaging learning environments
2. Promoting respect for the rights of others whose views differ from one's own
3. Promoting critical thinking about history and contemporary events
4. Increasing students' belief that they make a difference in society.

Here, the purpose of Shikaya training does not solely focus on the teaching material and resources but also on the social environment of the classroom. Increasing learners' exposure to an atmosphere of tolerance and respect for divergent opinions encourages a sense of appreciation for the democratic

deliberative process. Empirical research by David Campbell (2008) and Mattes, Denemark, and Niemi (2012) shows that open and respectful classrooms have a positive impact on the civic lessons which learners take away. From engaging and protected discussions youth may gain the deliberative skills to express themselves and are instructed through the democratic value of tolerance.

In order to help learners make the critical connections between gained knowledge, social analysis, and personal action, the Facing the Past program encourages active participation in resources such as Up2US. This interactive multimedia production guides students along an exploration of identity, prejudice, values, and active citizenship meant to tie youth into a movement for building a better world. It brings youth into discussion with the online community about what it means to be an active citizen and the videos feature inspirational South Africans, both celebrities and common citizens who act as civic role models. These include rock musicians, radio personalities, authors, filmmakers, politicians, activists, athletes, the Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and others. This resource was created to help students make sense of the Choosing to Participate theme to encourage learners to believe that they can make a difference in their workplace, families, communities, schools, and country. It teaches them to see themselves as active agents, gives them real strategies to engage in society and effect change, and allows them access an online community of other learners and role models with which to connect.

This is by no means an exhaustible list of Shikaya's resources and does not comprise the only tools by which Facing the Past tries to enhance learners' civic responsibility. They merely provide convenient examples of how Facing the Past classrooms are run and their dedication to active learner engagement. The actual information and knowledge base of the program is no different from the National Curriculum; it fulfills each component and includes the same subject material. However, it goes above and beyond the curriculum by giving teachers access to special training, pedagogies, and materials to help bring the National Curriculum to life in their classrooms. It is teacher-based, rather than student-based, with the understanding that creating effective teachers of democracy will in turn foster effective learners of democracy.

The fundamental difference between the average national classrooms and "Shikaya classrooms" lies in Shikaya's pedagogy. The curriculum content is the same across the board and therefore each classroom is given the objective of instilling the democratic characteristics of civic responsibility in its learners. One of the main cited problems in the way the curriculum has been implemented in South Africa is that teachers have lacked the specific training on how to go about this. Shikaya gives teachers specific pedagogies to introduces and explain this national curriculum in a different way. Shikaya's intentions are not dissimilar from what the national curriculum espouses but now its educators have materials such as the Up2Us program, new manuals, and supplemental stories as well as in-class activities and assignments. These classrooms are no different in the knowledge, skills, and values they are trying to teach; Shikaya just gives the tools to make educators more effective in what they do.

Fundamentally, Shikaya acknowledges and propones the 'hidden' curricular agenda which emphasizes outcomes of educational skills over mere content knowledge. The topics and content of the curriculum simply outline the formal objectives of the national curriculum – topics such as "human evolution, early trading systems, moving frontiers, and the systems of democracy" for grade 7 as an example (Chisholm,

2005, p. 201). Meanwhile, these topics are to be taught for the purpose of development of skills and understanding so that learners may garner capacity for critical analysis and interpretation. It makes the 'outcomes' desired in the curriculum statement the forefront of learners' classroom experience. As cited by Chisholm, ‘‘The official history is one that aims at permitting the unofficial, the hidden, to become visible. Much, however, depends upon the materials developers, the textbook writers, the teacher trainers, and teachers' own understandings brought to bear on these issues. History is present not only in the writing of the official curriculum, but also in its interpretation and enactment.” (2005).

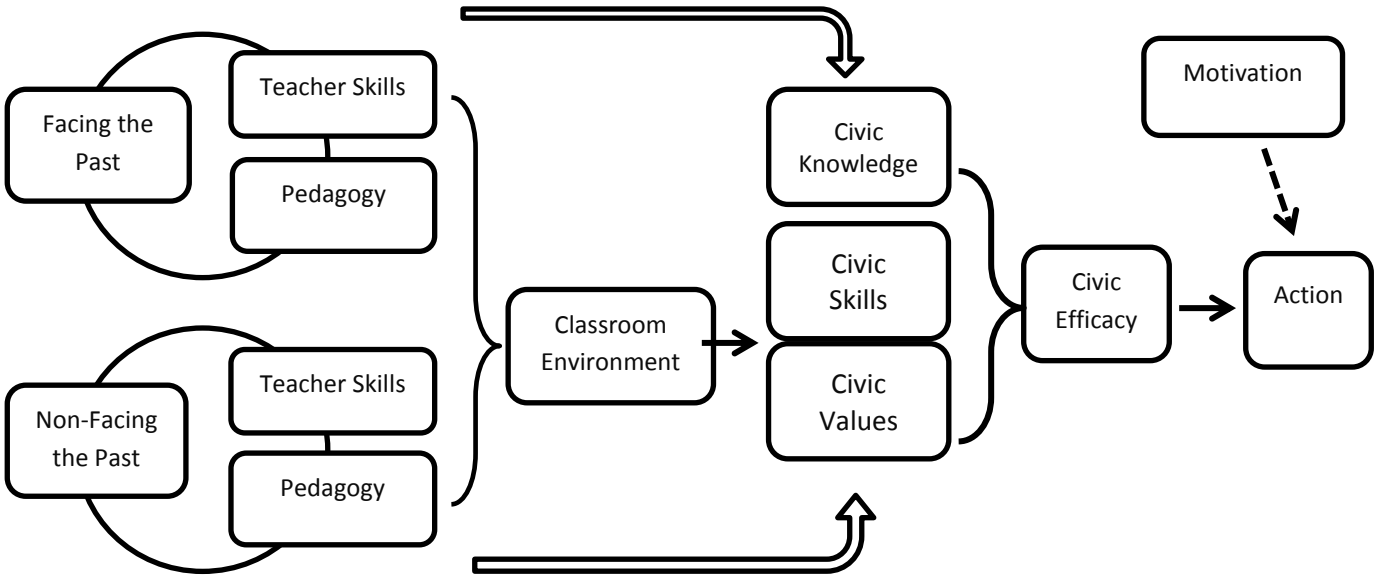
With this in mind, this research seeks to discover if and how Shikaya's pedagogies influence learners' civic responsibility. This research is increasingly important considering the waning democratic support of the Born Free generation. South Africa propones an active citizenry and seeks to imbed ideals of civic engagement in its national curriculum yet the lack of inculcation demonstrates that the pedagogies utilized to teach notions of civic knowledge, skills, and values may not be as effective as anticipated. Considering that one of the main grievances of the education system is the lack of highly skilled and well-trained teachers, professional development projects could comprise part of the solution. This is an area where real change is possible; especially since specialized teacher training can be implemented without investing large resources or rebuilding the education system. Rather, it can be actualized with small investments or pursued through the private sector. Therefore, this project aims to contrast what *is* and what *can be* by examining Shikaya's civic education pedagogies. Little research has been completed examining the ways in which classroom pedagogies affect civic responsibility. Therefore it is imperative that an empirical understanding of the effects of such pedagogies be pursued to gain insight on how to develop educators capable of rendering active and responsible citizens.

Below is a diagram of the correlational pathways which have been discussed above. This model provides the foundation for the further empirical investigation of this project and represents a visual display of the various relationships that will be measured. Here, the curriculum is held constant within each classroom and therefore does not appear in the model. The type of classroom (Facing the Past or Non-Facing the Past) defines the teacher skills and pedagogies utilized. Educators with Shikaya's Facing the Past training have been given specific pedagogies and, in the ideal environment, would be uniform across classrooms. Educators without this training still utilize pedagogies and have specific skills but by no means represent a uniform group, for each educator will have personal methods of teaching. Therefore, the initial comparison is between the experimental Facing the Past pedagogies and the average classroom.

These variant pedagogies and skills are expected to affect learners' civic knowledge, skills, and values, as well as the classroom environment. It is expected that the positive effect on these variables will be stronger in Facing the Past classrooms than in the average classroom. The impact of pedagogies and skills are expected to impact all three variables: civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic values. Meanwhile, the open classroom environment is only expected to impact civic values and skills by exposing learners' to active, engaging, and safe deliberative environments. As previously outlined, it is the combination of civic knowledge, skills, and values which are expected to promote learners' sense of civic efficacy and this efficacy is expected to further impact learners' actual civic action. Despite the linear appearance of the diagram, variables to the left are not precursory to variables on the right. Rather, they are arranged

according to the expected direction of impact. A final element to this model is the existence and expected effect of motivation. This aspect is not addressed in through the research design but will be further considered with the data analysis.

Figure 1



Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

The purpose of this research will be to determine whether Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming Our Future pedagogies are effective at creating civically responsible learners and how this compares to the average classroom pedagogies. This includes an investigation of the types of classroom environments created by Shikaya trained educators. Furthermore, it seeks to understand the connections between civic knowledge, skills, and values; their effect on civic efficacy, and the effect of all of these components on civic responsibility. To answer this question, this research utilizes a quasi-experimental study to compare and contrast the different pedagogies used in classrooms in the Western Cape. It is the assessment of an ideal model of teaching rather than a program evaluation of Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming our Future training and therefore seeks to create an understanding of if these methods work and, if so, how they could be adopted more broadly.

3.1 Research Design

In order to conduct this research, the study utilizes empirical methodology through a quasi-experimental design. It employs a quantitative closed-question survey and comparisons with contrast groups to examine the impact of specialized civic pedagogies on learner's democratic orientations. As previously stated, the test model for specialized civic pedagogies is focused on the teaching methodology and support given by Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming our Future project. The survey was administered within both a history classroom where the teacher used Facing the Past pedagogies and a history classroom where the teacher did not have supplemental pedagogical training. This was carried out in each of three dissimilar high schools in Cape Town, South Africa. The 'Facing the Past group' is classified as those being exposed to the full Facing the Past – Transforming our Future pedagogies while the 'National Curriculum group' only utilized the national curriculum with no exposure to any specialized training or pedagogical development.

The use of contrast classrooms in a quasi-experimental research design is added to increase the strength of validity of this study. As cited in Kahne, Chi, & Middaugh (2006), a Child Trends report on civic engagement found that very few studies analyzing civic education programs have employed a quasi-experimental design; they further concluded that conducting rigorous experimental studies should be a high priority within the field. In order to determine the effect of Shikaya treatment, it is most informative to contrast this intervention with an existing one (Aussems, Boomsma, & Snijders, 2011). While the reality of the school environment makes it difficult to conduct a true experimental design due to the lack of random assignment and matched samples, the inclusion of contrast classrooms allows this research to demonstrate the effect of Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming our Future program with greater confidence.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations have been taken highly into account with the construction of this project, particularly due to the proposed interaction with human subjects. I have followed strict guidelines for ethical clearance including permissions from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), the University of Cape Town Political Science Department Ethics Committee, the principals of participating

schools, teachers of participating classrooms, parental consent for minors, and participant consent from learners. Students have been informed about the purpose of the survey and were given a promise of anonymity. They were further instructed to only participate so far as they felt comfortable. The survey instrument collected no identifiable information so that anonymity is insured for both the extent of this project as well as with future use of data by Shikaya and affiliate organizations. See Appendix A for ethical clearance forms and confirmations.

Participants

The study evaluated the effects of the Facing the Past – Transforming our Future program on grade 11 learners in six history classrooms from three high schools in the Cape Town metropolitan district. The schools were chosen to represent a variety of socioeconomic[13] and racial compositions. They were located in variant locations with representation coming from both the outlying townships and the Cape Town suburbs. Both government and private schools were included. The Grade 11 learners were chosen as a convenience sample with permissions sought from individual schools and teachers for access. Three of the six teachers in our sample have attended Facing the Past – Transforming our Future seminars, employ the specialized pedagogies, and utilize the provided supplemental materials from Shikaya. The other three teachers have not participated in any specialized education seminars. The total sample included 134 grade 11 learners with 76 in Facing the Past classrooms and 58 in the National Curriculum classrooms. Learners in Facing the Past classrooms cover the same subject material as those in the contrast classrooms; it is just presented in a different way with different resources. Therefore, the comparison measures the effect of the teacher training, pedagogies, and materials of the Facing the Past program.

The three selected schools will remained unnamed for ethical purposes. For use in this report they will be called “School 1,” “School 2,” and “School 3.” School 1 is a government all-boys school located in metro central. It has roughly 800 students, is mostly middle and upper middle class, and the racial composition is primarily white and coloured. School 2 is a private all-girls high school located in metro central as well. It has roughly 1,000 students, is primarily upper and upper middle class, and the racial composition is mostly white. Finally, School 3 is a government high school located in metro south. It has roughly 1,200 learners and is primarily lower class; its racial composition is primarily black African. The level of resourcing of each government school in the Western Cape is measured in terms of quintiles. These range from 1 to 5 with the least resourced schools in quintile 1 and the more affluent and well-resourced in quintile 5. School 1 is a quintile 5 school, School 3 is a quintile 1 school and School 2 is a well-resourced private school.

[13] All South African public schools are categorized into five groups, called quintiles. The grouping is according to the poverty of the community where the school is located. Quintile one is the poorest quintile, quintile two is the second-poorest quintile, and so on. Each national quintile encompasses one-fifth of the learners enrolled in public schools (Giese, Zide, Koch & Hall, 2009)

Limitations

As with any research, this project holds both methodological and practical limitations. First and foremost, the limited time capacity and resources for this project greatly restricted the research design. This produced a primary limitation in creating a representative sample of secondary schools. Limited time decreased the capacity to include a greater number of schools thereby creating a smaller population parameter. Furthermore, limited resources restricted the physical area from which schools could be selected and this particularly resulted in the exclusion of rural schooling. Therefore, these schools are not necessarily representative of the entire Western Cape in regards to socio-economic or racial composition. It is recognized that this research cannot claim strong conclusions on the basis of this limitation.

Another set of challenges in the study design has to do with defining the Facing the Past group. Shikaya's Facing the Past program provides educators with a set of guiding principles, methods, and content material but is also very flexible. Teachers "select teaching materials from a range of possibilities and cover the scope and sequence of the program with varying degrees of depth, with different emphases, and over varying amounts of time." (Barr, 2010, p. 16). To remedy this, the educators in the experimental classrooms were chosen for their in-depth and long-term commitment to Shikaya's Facing the Past program. However, this also produces a limitation as it potentially entails the selection of particularly skilled teachers (the Shikaya classes) in comparison to the average teacher (the mainstream classes). This also assumes that educators produce archetype Shikaya classrooms and therefore the research design doesn't offer independent insight as to how these methods are actually interpreted and executed. A lack of capacity to interview educators or conduct classroom observation, due to limited time resources and classroom availability, provides a gap in research design. Addressing this issue, the survey tool includes questions pertaining to the classroom environment including teacher and learner practices in creating an open and safe environment as well as the learning content incorporated in the course.

Furthermore, under ideal circumstances, the methodology would have included pre-and post-testing with the survey instrument on both the Facing the Past and National Curriculum groups. This would demonstrate whether or not the use of specialized civic pedagogies precedes enhanced civic responsibility (Aussems, Boomsma, & Snijders, 2011). However, due to limited time capacity this could not be achieved but it is highly recommended for future investigation.

It is recognized that there is some self-selection bias with this sample. While all learners enroll in compulsory history courses through Grade 9, history is chosen as an elective in Grades 10 through 12. Consequently, the Grade 11 learners participating in this research have chosen to pursue history as one of their academic tracks and therefore have self-selected to be enrolled in history courses. These learners are more likely to have a higher understanding of historical and political knowledge and may therefore test differently than learners in other academic tracks. Of further concern is the possibility of learners having had exposure to Facing the Past methods in previous history courses. If learners in the contrast classrooms had, for example, taken a history course with the teacher of the experimental classroom they may have been affected by those methods and pedagogies.

Finally, the researcher relationship with Shikaya may also have produced limitations in the study. I was dependent on the cooperation of the organization as the proverbial 'gatekeeper' to the school system. I relied upon their resources and contacts and this may have affected the selection of schools and teachers for the study. As previously stated the educators in the experimental classrooms were specifically chosen by Shikaya for their in-depth and long-term commitment to the program and exceptional skills. Therefore this research does not present a typical evaluation of Shikaya but rather their pedagogies when fully implemented by motivated teachers.

Data Collection: Operationalization

The main tool utilized for data collection in this research is a cross-sectional survey comprised of close-ended questions. Surveys were determined to be the most appropriate for this specific research purpose and environment because they fit within the boundary of the research capacity and are quantitative in nature. In this case, the use of surveys was very economical; all of the schools involved in the study were within 20 kilometers distance and therefore the surveys could be personally administered. Furthermore, time commitment was minor for the participants; each survey only required 30 minutes to administer to each class and therefore caused minor interruption to normal class activities. This convenience was a vital advantage for gaining access to the learners. Due to the time constraints of the project the efficiency awarded by minimal time and distance commitments was vital.

The survey was constructed utilizing material from two key sources. The majority of items were drawn from the DECIDES project survey, an ongoing evaluation sponsored by the Spencer Foundation. This project assesses Facing History and Ourselves' and Shikaya's effect on how learners classroom procedures affect their view of modern society and is being conducted in South Africa, Northern Ireland, and the United States. Some items were also drawn from the Cape Area Survey (CAS) conducted by Robert Mattes, David Denemark, and Richard Niemi (Mattes, Denemark, & Niemi, 2012). These previously utilized surveys have been formerly employed to examine high school populations; the questions included have been used effectively with South African high school learners in recent research (Mattes, Denemark & Niemi, 2012; Barr, 2010). Furthermore, many of the items drawn from the DECIDES project were based on scales created by Joseph Kahne, Ellen Middaugh, and Kristi Schutjer-Mance. These scales are widely recognized have been utilized often since their creation in 2005. This allows for comparison to the findings in previous research.

The survey was comprised of questions within 6 main categories: civic responsibility, efficacy, civic knowledge, civic skills, civic virtue, and classroom environment. The indicators within each category, excluding the civic knowledge category, are either four-point or five-point Likert scales. The five-point scales ask learners to rank their feelings about topics and range from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" and the four-point scales rate the frequency of student participation in various activities and range from "never" to "often." The indicators for civic knowledge ask students to choose the "most correct" answer out of 5 possible choices, including the option to select "Don't know or don't have enough information." See Appendix B for all questions and indicators utilized on the survey tool.

The survey was administered through self-completion sessions conducted during class time in each of the participating classrooms. The researcher, with the aid of Shikaya director Dylan Wray, arranged a convenient time and date for the teacher and students to complete the session. The survey was administered by the researcher who remained present in the room in order to explain the purpose and contents of the survey to the learners, to assure them of its complete anonymity and the confidentiality of their answers, to assist them through clarification on survey instructions and question wording, and to collect the completed questionnaires once every learner had sufficient time to finish. The data was then compiled, coded, and entered into SPSS Statistical Software for analysis.

3.2 Measures

For assessment of this research, survey items were chosen to measure various aspects of the civically responsible citizen. This includes scales measuring learners' civic participation, civic self-efficacy, knowledge of South African politics, civic deliberative skills, and civic values. Also, scales to measure classroom climate were included to support deeper analysis of effective classrooms. As previously stated, the measures used have been drawn from previous studies.

Civic Responsibility

The conceptualization used to measure the civic responsibility of learners is based primarily on actual civic participation. This measure asks how often respondents have engaged in various civic-focused deliberative practices. Given that most Grade 11 learners are not eligible to vote, it is important to broaden the definition of civic participation to include other activities. The subscales within this measure explore various venues for learners to explore their political interests. The first subscale, Civic Discourse: Discussion, measures the frequency of learners' discussion of social and political problems with others. The other two subscales, Actual Political Expression and Actual Engagement Civic Oriented, ask about the frequency of learner engagement with civic practices such as actual political action in the school and community, standing up for others, and making ethical choices. These are measured with questions A1 to A13.

Self-Efficacy

The survey includes a scale comprised of indicators of civic self-efficacy, or the belief that one can make a difference civically. This scale asks students to rate their agreement with a series of statements to examine feelings of personal empowerment and capacity to shape their environment. This is measured with questions B1 to B7.

Civic Knowledge

Further investigation of civic knowledge was completed through a series of questions asking students about their knowledge of South African politics including political procedures, political history, and constitutional protections. Questions included regard definitions of discrimination, freedom of expression and democracy; current political representation in national and provincial government; and the functions of multi-party systems and the courts. These are measured with questions C1 to C9.

Civic Skill

The scale deemed "Student Deliberation: Skills" measures student's critical thinking and deliberation skills in relation to political discussion. The measure asks about the frequency of learner engagement with such practices on a four-point scale. Included are items relating to the learner's critical thinking skills, student's capacity to engage in deliberation, and learners' capacity to reconcile with other opinions. This is measured with questions D1 to D12.

Civic Values

The survey investigates level of civic responsibility through the California Civic Index (CACI) scale as developed and employed by Joseph Kahne. This index is designed to examine the extent to which learners are committed to future civic participation. It breaks down civic orientations to the previously described categories: personally responsible, participatory and justice oriented. Many of the items included were drawn and adapted from Westheimer and Kahne by the DECIDES project. The questions utilized include responsibility items, participation items, and items measuring justice-orientation. These were measured with questions E1 to E17.

Classroom Climate

Scales to measure learners' classroom climate are included in order to investigate whether or not Shikaya teachers actually produce different classroom environments with their specialized teaching skills and methods. Indicators to measure the classroom environment have been included, both in student and teacher practices. Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming our Future program is designed to encourage such open classroom environment where learners have the opportunity to voice their opinions and feel listened to and respected for those opinions. In order to measure Shikaya's impact, this research considers two sub-categories: Open Classrooms and Classroom Civic Learning Opportunities.

The Open Classrooms scale includes items relating to both teacher practices and learner practices. Items regarding Teacher Practices evaluate the level of respect, encouragement, listening skills, and fair treatment of the teacher within the classroom where the study was conducted. Meanwhile, the Student Practices evaluate these same measures on behalf of the other students within the classroom which the study was conducted. These provide an understanding of the social environment of the class and learners' exposure to an atmosphere of tolerance and respect for divergent opinions. These are measured with questions F1 to F17. Finally, the survey measures the Classroom Civic Learning Opportunities. This measure mimics the previously discussed commitments, capacities, and connections by Kahne and Westheimer and includes questions regarding the opportunities to learn about current events and problems in society, study issues which learners care about, learn about ways to improve the community, and be exposed to civic role models. This is measured with questions G1 to G6.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Results

4.1 Results

This research is assessing four main areas of inquiry. These will first be independently assessed and analyzed and then further examined in congruence in the discussion section. See Appendix C for further data figures and results.

1. The general descriptions and distributions of the data.
2. The separate effect of civic knowledge, skills, and values on civic responsibility and civic efficacy as well as these variables additive effect.
3. The effect of classroom environment on civic knowledge, civic skills, civic values, civic efficacy, and civic responsibility.
4. The effect of Shikaya's Facing the Past pedagogies on learners' civic responsibility (labeled civic action), civic efficacy, civic knowledge, civic skills, civic values, the classroom environment, and learning content.

General descriptions

Table 1
General Spread of Variables

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Civic Action (1-4 scale)	134	2.68	0.51
Civic Efficacy (1-5 scale)	134	3.51	0.61
Civic Knowledge (1-9 scale)	134	5.6	2.33
Civic Skills (1-4 scale)	134	3.19	0.42
Civic Values (1-5 scale)	134	4.05	0.41
Open Classroom (1-5 scale)	134	4.08	0.5
Learning Content (1-4 scale)	134	3.2	0.48

In order to analyze the correlations within the data, it is important to first gain an understanding of the general distribution in our sample through some basic descriptive statistics. A comparison of means reveals that learners' commitment to civic responsibility seems to mimic the research findings on

national youth involvement. On the Civic Action Scale, which ranked learners' involvement in various civic activities on a four-point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "always," the average learner scored at 2.68 with a standard deviation of 0.51. This shows that these learners are not very civically engaged with most responses falling between "rarely" and "sometimes." Within this scale, learners ranked highest on questions regarding social encounters including, "I have discussed issues and problems about society with my friends"(3.16), "I have stood up for someone who was being bullied" (3.23), and "I have told someone who was making prejudiced comments that I thought it was wrong to do that" (3.21). Meanwhile learners scored lowest on questions regarding political participation including, "I have taken part in a peaceful protest, march or demonstration" (1.92), "I have worked to change a school policy or school rule" (2.16), and "I have volunteered on a political campaign" (1.63).

The average score of the Civic Efficacy Scale demonstrates that the average learner in our sample feels a moderate sense of efficacy in their engagement in their school and community as well as within politics. This scale, which ranked learners feelings of efficacy in various topics on a 5 point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" averages at 3.51 with a standard deviation of 0.61. These scores show learners' responses falling between 'neutral' and 'agree.'

Learners' demonstrated political knowledge was fairly low and varied greatly across schools. Overall, the mean of correct responses is 5.60 out of 9 possible points with a standard deviation of 2.33. In other words, on average, learners' answered 62% of the questions correctly. However, this score is highly affected by the school attended. On average, learners' at School 1 High School correctly answered 7.04 questions with a standard deviation of 1.03; those at School 2 correctly answered an average of 7.39 questions with a standard deviation of 0.92; and those at School 3 correctly answered an average of only 3.17 questions with a standard deviation of 1.61. The questions most learners knew regarded political parties with 89.6% knowing which party holds the most seats in South Africa's national legislature and 86.6% knowing which party holds the most seats in the Western Cape provincial legislature.

It was also interesting to see that learners don't fully comprehend the role of the courts. The question regarding this topic was answered incorrectly most often. The popular image of the courts is in its role in resolving disputes but its importance in deciding whether a law is permitted under the Constitution is less well-known. In my sample, 94% of learners were ignorant of this aspect of the courts. This finding is consistent with research conducted by Mattes, Denemark and Niemi (2012) whose findings showed that less than 17% of learners could identify this role.

It should be noted that a new limitation was realized while conducting the survey. Learners' participating in the study alerted the researcher to a potential problem with question C4 in the knowledge scale which asks, "The South African Constitution's Bill of Rights guarantees freedom of expression. Which of these is NOT protected by this freedom?" This question was brought into question because of recent events regarding the Protection of State Information Bill, commonly referred to as the "Secrecy Bill". This bill aims to regulate the dissemination of state information and would limit the right of access to information and the protection of whistleblowers and journalists. This limitation closely resembles the incorrect answer of "The right of a newspaper to publish information about corruption"

and may appear misleading for learners who are aware of this current event. This affects this question as a good indicator and may be affecting the overall correlation.

Learners, on average, scored medium-high on both civic skills and civic values. The Civic Skills scale asked learners to rank on a scale from "never" to "always" how often they utilized a range of deliberation skills. On average, learners scored 3.19 out of 4 with a standard deviation of 0.42. This means that learners demonstrated the ability to use these civic skills 'sometimes' or 'often' on average. The Civic Values scale asked learners asked students to rank their level of agreement on a variety of statements regarding both their perceptions and actions in regards to civic values and ranks these on a scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." The average score was 4.05 out of 5 with a standard deviation of 0.41. This means that the average learner 'agreed' with the listed values. This index further breaks down values by citizen type. In Chapter Two, I discussed the values of the Personally Responsible, Participatory, and Justice-Oriented citizen. The results of the survey showed that learners exhibited a relatively equal importance to each of these value types with an average score of 4.19 (SD = 0.5) for values of the Personally Responsible Citizen, 3.79 (SD = 0.62) for values of the Participatory Citizen, and 4.04 (SD = 0.52) for the Justice-Oriented Citizen.

On average, learners agreed that the classrooms where they took the survey were open and respectful. The average score on a 5-point scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree' was 4.08 with a standard deviation of 0.5. Furthermore, the Learning Content scale, which asked learners about different learning activities geared toward increasing awareness of problems in society, had an average score of 3.20 out of 4 with a standard deviation of 0.48.

Civic Knowledge, Skills, and Values- Independent

Previously, the theoretical conceptualization of this research from Chapter 2 indicated that increased civic knowledge, skills, and values should positively impact learners' sense of civic self-efficacy and that this elevated sense of efficacy would henceforth lead to higher levels of civic action. To test this, both the independent and the additive effects of civic knowledge, skills, and values on both civic efficacy and civic action have been investigated as well as the effect of efficacy on civic responsibility. First, the independent effects of these three variables on civic efficacy and civic action will be evaluated and later I will examine their additive effect. The image below may be utilized to put this part of the theoretical model in perspective.

Figure 2

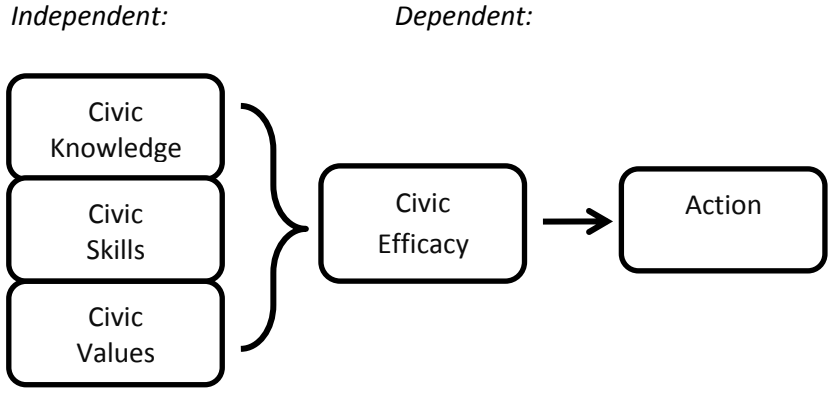


Table 2
Civic Efficacy Regression (pooled)

	ß	Standard Error	Beta Weights	t	Significance
Civic Knowledge	-0.530	0.019	-0.200	-2.718	0.007
Civic Skills	0.691	0.128	0.476	5.394	0.000
Civic Values	0.170	0.128	0.116	1.330	0.186

Note: $R^2 = 0.315$
$p < .05$

First, in order to test the individual impact of knowledge, skills and values on civic efficacy, I ran a multilinear regression. The pooled results, as displayed in Table 2, demonstrate that the variance of these three variables explains 31.5% of the variance of civic efficacy. However, the only values which are significantly correlated are civic knowledge and civic skills and civic knowledge is actually negatively correlated. This means that as learner knowledge increases in our pooled sample learner self-efficacy actually decreases. This finding will be further explored in the following discussion. Using beta weights, it was determined that civic skills is the strongest independent variable in the equation with a weight of 0.476. Upon controlling for school, only civic skills remain significantly correlated. Comparing the unstandardized correlation coefficients shows that the civic skills scale has a stronger impact in School 1 and School 2 than in School 3.

Within our sample, these measures only explain about a third of the variance of civic efficacy and, if my measures maintain internal validity, civic skills are the only variable significantly associated with civic efficacy after controlling for school. Furthermore, they have a stronger impact in our two high-resource schools (School 1 and School 2) than in our low-resource school (School 3).

Table 3
Civic Action Regression (pooled)

	ß	Standard Error	Beta Weights	t	Significance
Civic Knowledge	-0.03	0.015	-0.136	-1.991	0.049
Civic Skills	0.697	0.100	0.573	6.989	0.000
Civic Values	0.136	0.099	0.111	1.370	0.173

Note: $R^2 = 0.409$
$p < .05$

A multiple regression was also run to determine the independent impact of civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic values on civic action. This was then re-run controlling for school attended. The results for the

pooled effect of knowledge, skills, and values, listed in Table 3, found that there is a strong correlation and that the variance of all three independent variables explains 40% of the variance of civic action. Within the pooled regression, civic knowledge and civic skills are statistically significant with civic skills again holding the most weight (0.573). Interestingly, civic knowledge is negatively correlated with civic action; therefore, as civic knowledge increases, civic action decreases in our population. These results remain relatively consistent upon controlling for school. In all three schools, only the civic skills scale is significantly correlated with civic action and all hold similar weight within the regression equation. Interestingly, at School 3 knowledge is negatively correlated again. This will be further addressed in the discussion section of this chapter.

Civic Knowledge, Skills, and Values- Additive

The theoretical model of this research indicated that the culmination of civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic responsibility should increase learners' civic efficacy and that this would, in turn, positively affect civic action. While the independent effects of these variables providing insightful results, the focus of the research is maintained in their additive effect. A factor analysis was run in order to determine this additive effect of the variables. This created a linear combination of the civic knowledge scale, civic skills scale, and civic efficacy scale which best explains the combined variance in all of them. As listed in Table C5 in Appendix C, the factor loading showed skills and values loading up very highly together; which indicates possible a level of multicollinearity and may be tapping into the same phenomenon. Knowledge was certainly related as well and therefore should remain in the loading. However, it was operating more independently than skills and values. This new variable was saved as an amalgamation of all three and then could be utilized as its own variable for regression against dependent variables. [14] This regression tests whether the interaction between these variables has a significant effect on efficacy and action. It was already determined that when these variables are held constant against each other in a multilinear regression their individual variance collectively explains 31.5% of the variance in civic efficacy and 40.9% of the variance in civic action. The factor loading is different because it tests the combined effect of these variables interacting with one another instead of holding them constant. This allows these factors to be treated as uncorrelated variables and helps control for multicollinearity.

[14] Table C5 in Appendix C lists the latent roots (eigen values) and the component matrix values.

Table 4

Factor Loading on Efficacy and Action

		ß	Pearson's R	Pearson's R^2	Significant
Civic Efficacy	Pooled	0.290	0.473	0.224	0.000
	School 1	0.390	0.544	0.295	0.000
	School 2	0.309	0.394	0.155	0.038
	School 3	0.283	0.436	0.190	0.001
Civic Action	Pooled	0.293	0.569	0.324	0.000
	School 1	0.327	0.540	0.292	0.000
	School 2	0.280	0.489	0.239	0.008
	School 3	0.215	0.445	0.198	0.001

Note: $p < .05$

First, let us focus on the impact on learners' civic efficacy. The pooled results show a significant positive correlation between the additive factor loading and civic efficacy. The Pearson's R^2 is 0.224 meaning that these new variable explains 22% of the variance in learners' civic efficacy. In the school control School 1, School 2, and School 3 all demonstrate significant correlations with similar R^2 values. The variance of civic efficacy is best explained by the factor loading in School 1 (29.5%) and least explained in School 2 (15.5%). By looking at the unstandardized correlation coefficients for each school it is seen that civic efficacy is more positively affected in School 1 than in School 2 or School 3 although results remain relatively similar.

Next, the focus shifts to the impact of the factor loading on civic action. Again, there is a significant correlation between the two even after controlling for school attended. The new variable explains 32.4% of the variance in civic action with a positive correlation. School 1 school explains the most variance again at 29.2% and it is also the strongest correlation with an unstandardized correlation coefficient of 0.327. School 2 and School 3 are closely weighted explaining 23.9% and 19.8% of the variance of civic action and with unstandardized correlation coefficients of .280 and 0.215, respectively.

Table 5

Civic Efficacy on Civic Action

	ß	Pearson's R	Pearson's R^2	Significant
Pooled	0.573	0.682	0.466	0.000
School 1	0.637	0.753	0.567	0.000
School 2	0.411	0.533	0.284	0.003
School 3	0.468	0.630	0.396	0.000

Note: $p < .05$

To complete the theoretical model requires an examination of the effect of civic efficacy on civic action; individuals need to feel they have the potential for impact before they will bother taking action. In line with the stated theory, civic efficacy does have a strong positive impact on civic action. As listed in Table 5, there exists a significant correlation and efficacy explains 46.6% of the variance in action. Upon controlling for school attended, all schools demonstrated significant correlations with Pearson's R^2 values between .284 and .567. School 1 held the highest while School 2 held the lowest. The unstandardized correlation coefficients mirror this with civic efficacy more positively predicting civic action in School 1 (0.637), than School 2 (.0411) or School 3 (0.468).

Classroom Environment

Figure 3:

The degree to which classrooms are open and exhibit an atmosphere of respect and support has been found to have an impact on the civic lessons students take away (Campbell, 2008; Mattes, Denemark & Niemi, 2012). Therefore, the survey inquired about the social environment of classrooms with the Classroom Open Climate Scale. This is divided into two subcategories: teacher practices and learner practices. Teacher practices focuses on whether and how the teacher creates an open classroom environment; this includes whether the teacher is respectful of learners, encourages them to engage in open and active dialogue, and treats them as unique and equal individuals. Meanwhile, student practices focus on whether and how learners contribute to an open classroom environment; this includes whether they respect one another, feel they have a protected voice in class discussion, treat each other as individuals, and have the opportunity to learn about different races and cultures from each other. By creating an environment of tolerance and respect, classrooms may demonstrate to learners what is expected from them in an open democratic society.

The survey also utilizes the classroom civic learning opportunities scale to measure the level of learner opportunity to actively engage in civic issues. Survey items ask whether students have had the opportunity to learn about problems in society and their role in improving them, whether they have learned about or met civic role models, and their required engagement in current events. According to Kahne, Chi, and Middaugh (2005), pedagogies which feature these aspects, including the use of role models, learning about problems in the community, and personal relevance, have the potential to enhance democratic purposes in education.

Figure 4:

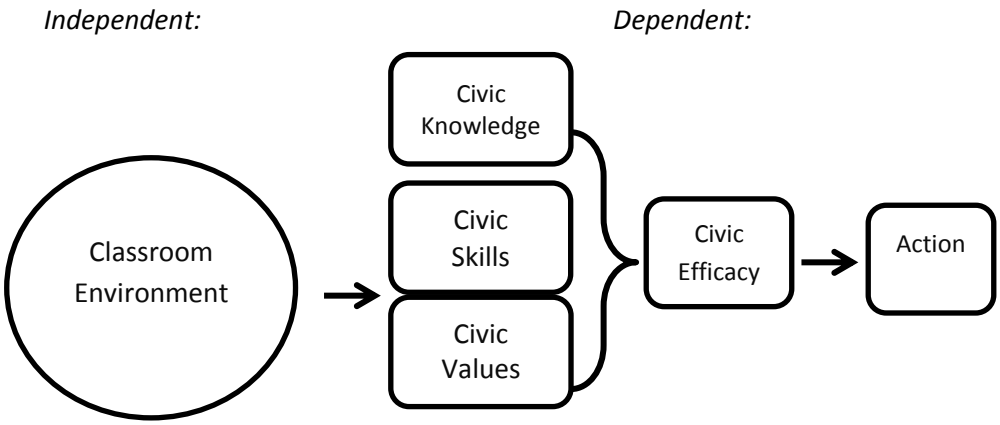


Table 6
Classroom Open Climate (pooled)

	ß	Pearson's R^2	Person's R	Significance
Knowledge	0.224	0.002	0.048	0.584
Skills	0.406	0.234	0.484	0
Values	0.451	0.292	0.54	0
Efficacy	0.474	0.15	0.39	0
Action	0.369	0.131	0.361	0

Note: p < .05

A regression was run to determine the pooled effect of the level of classroom openness on the following variables: Civic knowledge, civic skills, civic values, civic efficacy, and civic action. These were then re-run controlling for school attended. The results, listed in Table 1, found that the effect of the level of classroom openness is significant on all the variables except for civic knowledge. The strongest correlations are with civic values, which explain 29.2% of the variance, and civic skills, which explain 23.4% of the variance. Civic efficacy and civic action are less strongly correlated and explain 15% and 13.1% of the variance respectively. Upon controlling for school attended, these correlations vary greatly. Most pointedly, there are no significant correlations between the openness of the classroom and any of the dependent variables in School 2. In School 1 civic values and civic efficacy are significant with civic values explaining 27.7% of the variance and efficacy only explaining 9.8%. Here, both lose some effect in comparison to the pooled regression. Meanwhile, all the variables except for civic knowledge are significant in School 3 and each variable either maintains or increases in strength relative to the pooled group. Civic skills explain 34% of the variance; civic values explains 28.3%; civic efficacy explains 25.2%; and civic action explains 11.8%

Overall, students in classrooms that are more 'open' are more likely to have stronger civic values, have a higher sense of self-efficacy and, in the case of School 3, also exhibit higher deliberative skills. The strength of the impact of open classrooms is higher at School 3 than at the other two schools; this suggests that having an open and safe environment for learning may hold a higher importance here. This may simply be indicative of this particular high school class or may indicate a possible trend in lower-resource and primarily black schools.

Table 7

Classroom Civic Learning Opportunities (pooled)

	ß	Pearson's R^2	Pearson's R	Significance
Knowledge	-0.587	0.105	0.122	0.164
Skills	0.368	0.179	0.423	0
Values	0.333	0.148	0.385	0
Efficacy	0.612	0.236	0.485	0
Action	0.487	0.212	0.46	0

Note: $p < .05$

A multiple regression was also run to determine the pooled effect of the level of classroom civic learning opportunities on the following variables: Civic knowledge, civic skills, civic values, civic efficacy, and civic action. These were then re-run controlling for school attended. The results of the pooled sample, listed in Table 3, found that the effect of the classroom civic learning opportunities scale is significant in all variables except for civic knowledge. The highest correlations are with civic efficacy, which explains 23.6% of the variance, and civic action, which explains 21.2% of the variance. Meanwhile, the effect on civic skills is significant and explains 17.9% of the variance and the effect on civic values explains 14.8% of the variance. Upon controlling for school attended, these correlations vary greatly. Again, there are no significant correlations between classroom civic learning opportunities and any of the dependent variables in School 2. In School 1 neither civic values nor knowledge is significant. Meanwhile, the most correlated is civic efficacy which accounts for 42.4% of the variance; this is followed by action, which explains 31.1%, and skills, which explains 30%. Again, all of the variables except for knowledge are significant at School 3 and each variable increases in strength relative to the pooled group. Civic action and civic efficacy are very strongly correlated and explain 60.5% and 58% of the variance of the classroom civic learning opportunities scale. The skills scale explains 53% and the values scale 26%. The high R^2 values of these variables suggest that, while they represent strong association, there is likely a level of multicollinearity between them. This will be further regarded in the discussion section.

Pedagogy Comparison

The conception of this research project stemmed from a curiosity to determine the effects of Shikaya's pedagogies on learners' engagement in civil society. As previously discussed, the democratic focused national curriculum hasn't been sufficient in breeding active citizens in South African communities. However, this may be remedied by increasing teacher training and using democratically-focused

pedagogies to bring the curriculum content to life for learners. The founding organization for the Facing the Past curriculum, Facing History and Ourselves, developed their teacher training in order to emphasize the importance of individual responsibility within a democracy. In order to assess how well they are achieving their proclaimed goals this research focuses on open classrooms, classroom civic learning opportunities, and efficacy. Furthermore, for the purposes of this research's theoretical conceptions, it is also important to investigate the impact these pedagogies have on civic action.

Table 8

Classroom type Regression

		ß	Pearson's R	Pearson's R^2	Significant
Open Classroom	Pooled	0.29	0.287	0.082	0.001
	School 1	0.254	0.248	0.062	0.073
	School 2	0.439	0.59	0.348	0.001
	School 3	0.218	0.237	0.056	0.091
Engagement with Civic Matters	Pooled	0.121	0.124	0.015	0.154
	School 1	0.024	0.024	0.001	0.866
	School 2	0.185	0.203	0.041	0.149
	School 3	0.137	0.183	0.034	0.341
Efficacy	Pooled	0.118	0.096	0.009	0.272
	School 1	0.128	0.108	0.012	0.441
	School 2	0.07	0.071	0.005	0.713
	School 3	0.017	0.082	0.007	0.562
Civic Action	Pooled	0.102	0.099	0.01	0.256
	School 1	0.273	0.272	0.074	0.049
	School 2	-0.052	0.069	0.005	0.723
	School 3	-0.024	0.025	0.001	0.86

According to recent research (Barr, 2010), teachers who participated in Facing the Past –Transforming Our Future training in the United States reported that the methods (pedagogies) they learned helped them to create a democratic ethos in the classroom. Here, learners' voices and fresh perspectives are valued and encouraged and there exists a level of open deliberation on controversial issues. Teachers felt that they were capable of creating a safe learning environment where students could feel at ease expressing their opinions. These are the same methods employed in Shikaya's professional development in South Africa. Therefore it would be expected to produce similar results. The regression does demonstrate a significant correlation between type of classroom (Facing the Past or contrast) and open classroom environment. However, this only explains 8% (0.082) of the variance. So, Facing the Past classrooms are more open than contrast classrooms but the reason is not primarily because of this training. After controlling for school attended, the only remaining significant correlation is in School 2 (0.001). Here, there is a positive correlation with 34.8% of the variance in open classrooms explained by

whether the learner is in the Facing the Past or contrast group. The correlation was not significant in School 1 (0.073) or School 3 (0.091). This shows that the Facing the Past – Transforming Our Future pedagogies don't necessarily create more open classrooms. However, it is important to note that this does not speak of Shikaya's overall population of educators but, rather, only these six classrooms.

The only other variable significantly affected by classroom type is civic action. This is only significant (0.049) in School 1 after controlling for school attended and only explains 7.4% of the variance. The other two schools did not show a significant correlation nor did the pooled regression. Regressions for the classroom civic learning opportunities scale and the learner efficacy scale are not significant pooled or after controlling for school. Finally, since it has already been discovered that civic knowledge, skills, and values have different impacts on civic efficacy and action I also ran regressions examining the effect of classroom type on each of this. Surprisingly, there are no significant correlations in the pooled regressions or after controlling for school. This finding will be further discussed in the following section.

3.3 Discussion

The previous section revealed the statistical results of the fieldwork of this research. Now, these results will be discussed more thoroughly in the context of this project and their significance for my original research questions. Here, it is important to remember the selection sample limitations previously discussed for this study. Any conclusions discussed below pertain only to the research sample and not the larger Western Cape population.

Impact of Facing the Past – Transforming Our Future pedagogies

The primary research question for this study asks whether the civic education utilized in Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming Our Future program is effective at affecting more civic responsibility in learners in comparison to the South African average classroom. The results demonstrate that there is a surprising lack of effect on the majority of our tested variables. Whether educators participated in the Facing the Past program did not significantly impact their learners' civic knowledge, values, or skills; civic efficacy; or the level of classroom civic learning opportunities. One possible explanation for this lack of statistical power may be that the sample size was too small to pick up on some of the effects. Essentially, when controlling for school attended, the level of measurement drops to the classroom level. With only three sets of two classrooms the data may be limited in this circumstance. A greater number of classrooms would better represent the effect of the Facing the Past program.

Furthermore, these results may indicate that the variables I have deemed to be important in promoting a civically responsible citizen fail to measure the actual effects Facing the Past pedagogies have on learners. On one hand, the lack of significant effect on most my variables may call attention to where Shikaya could improve upon their methods of teaching; that is, if the Facing the Past program desires to directly promote these characteristics. On the other hand, it may be that their focus lies elsewhere. One possibility is that Shikaya may engage more with enhancing learners' sense of empathy and connection to others in society both contemporarily and historically. Empathy isn't measured by skills and

knowledge variables. Furthermore, a measure of empathy is more than a value; it is a *capacity* for empathy. This will be elaborated upon later on in this section.

The classroom type did have a significant effect on the open classroom scale, showing that educators with this training have a positive impact on the creation of more open and safe classroom environments than the average educator. Generally, it only accounts for 8% of the variance. However, upon controlling for school attended, it was found that this accounted for 34% of the variance in School 2. Meanwhile, civic action was not significant in the pooled population. It was significant in School 1 but only accounted for 7% of the variance. The fact that the classroom type did have some statistical power for open classrooms and civic action shows that there is an impact but that it is only partially accounting for the variance in classroom openness and civic action. There could be a multitude of external factors which impact on both of these variables. For civic action, other factors could include parental influence, socio-economic upbringing, or media influence among others. In Chapter Two it was recognized that the socialization potential of education is usually much weaker than other agents such as family and media (Murphy, 2004; Niemi and Junn 1999). Meanwhile, the openness of classroom could also be highly affected by socio-economic and racial composition of the schools. This is all the more likely since the significance increased upon controlling for school, which holds many such external variables constant.

Impact of Open and Engaging Classrooms

The investigation of the impact of classroom environment (including classroom openness and classroom civic learning opportunities scales) revealed some of the most significant and interesting findings. The initial purpose of these measures was to determine differences between Facing the Past pedagogies and the average classroom pedagogies and the classroom environments they encourage. It was determined that Facing the Past did have some impact on the open classroom measure yet there is much variation left unexplained. However, the impact of the open classroom scale on our other measures is noteworthy. In the pooled results, both open classrooms and the level of classroom civic learning opportunities were significantly correlated with all variables except for civic knowledge. First I will address the positive impact on most of the variables and then will address this lack of impact on civic knowledge.

As previously discussed, the open classroom measure had a strong significant correlation with learners' civic values and civic skills. This measure also had a positive correlation with learners' sense of civic efficacy and actual action but the measure of association was weaker. Furthermore, higher levels of classroom civic learning opportunities were correlated with higher levels of civic efficacy and civic action; they were less strongly correlated with civic skills and civic values. Notably, within School 2, neither of these measures was significantly correlated with any of the variables. This is especially noticeable with openness since School 2 was the only school with a strong positive correlation between the classroom type and openness. This may indicate that perhaps higher levels of civic values and civic deliberative skills of learners' in School 1 and School 3 may be more influenced by external factors and are having an effect on the openness of their classrooms; if each learner already exhibits strong civic values and skills they probably also help create a more open and respectful classroom. However, in School 2 civic values and skills are not necessarily contributing to an open classroom (not significantly

correlated) and therefore the teacher has a stronger impact on creating an open classroom through his or her special pedagogies. When Facing the Past pedagogies are utilized it has a larger impact on classroom openness when civic values and civic skills are less strong.

Another interesting finding was that both open classrooms and civically engaged classrooms had a much stronger impact on most of the variables in School 3 than any other school or within the pooled regression. It was also the only school in which open classrooms had an effect on civic skills and this explained 34% of the variance. This shows that, when controlling for all the external factors that these learners have in common by attending a primarily black, low-resource, township school, having an open environment in the classroom is much more important in developing deliberative skills. Furthermore, having a civically engaged classroom is much more important in affecting civic efficacy and action. School 3 was unlike the other two schools in the sample in that it was the only low-resource, lower class, and primarily black school. Therefore the environment these learners come from is probably dissimilar from those in the other two schools. Perhaps students in Schools 1 and 2 are less impacted by open classrooms and civically engaging pedagogies because they garner their civic skills and efficacy more through avenues outside of the school environment, such as from family members or within the community. This suggests that the creation of open and safe classrooms may be more significant in increasing learner deliberative skills, sense of efficacy, and actual civic responsibility in other lower-resource and primarily black schools.

This effect may be an example of what has been deemed the Compensation Hypothesis in previous literature. This hypothesis, put forth by Langton and Jennings in their 1968 work, supposes that effective civic education, and particularly open classroom climate, may be more effective in schools where it compensates for other external disadvantages such as socio-economic status. Here, it is assumed that learners' from higher status families have already been exposed to democratic characteristics due to the high positive correlation between socioeconomic status and political engagement. This further indicates that those from lower income families will have less exposure and therefore will benefit more from their experiences in the classroom (Campbell, 2008).

Finally, the relevance of civic engagement in the development of learner efficacy and promotion of civic action merits attention. Through further investigating the effect of each individual indicator it was found that the strongest correlation to both efficacy and action is speaking about people and groups who work to make society better. This indicates a potential importance in speaking to learners about examples of active citizenship and introducing them to the work of good role models. By actually seeing that individuals are working to incite positive change may open learners' eyes to their own potential and therefore enhance their sense of efficacy. Such topics also demonstrate methods of action which learners can examine and adopt in their own communities.

Analysis of theoretical model

The theoretical model of this research, as described in Chapter Two, predicted that the combination of civic knowledge, skills, and values would lead to a higher sense of learner self-efficacy which would

henceforth have a positive impact on civic action. Overall, the effects within model were partially supported by the data yet the chronology of effects is questioned and the predicted effect of civic knowledge was completely contradicted.

The most unexpected result was the behavior of civic knowledge. This variable was negatively correlated with both civic action and self-efficacy in the pooled results; it was still negatively correlated with civic efficacy in School 1 and School 3 and it was negatively correlated with civic action in School 3 after controlling for school attended. This may be due to limitations in the measure or may actually reflect a negative correlation between knowledge and both efficacy and action. One hypothesis is that having a higher knowledge of politics leaves learners' disillusioned with the political order and their voice within it. A sense of apathy may stem from knowing the system, along with all of its faults. On the one hand, civic knowledge may be empowering if leaners perceive it as giving them the necessary information to effectively incite change. On the other hand, it may be disempowering to uncover all the democratic safeguards and practices in place to ensure representative and balanced government but still witness large amounts of corruption.

Another interesting finding regards the importance of civic skills on both efficacy and action. Civic skills overall had the strongest effect on both civic efficacy and civic action, even stronger than the combined effect of knowledge, skills, and values. It was also the only variable that remained positive and significant upon controlling for school attended. So, in reality, learners may only need civic skills to be civically efficacious and civically active. In term of efficacy, if learners are capable of skillful and effective deliberation it may give them confidence in their opinions, actions, and capabilities and, henceforth, leave them feeling more efficacious. The further impact of civic skills on civic action bypasses the need for specific civic knowledge or values in order to participate in society. Learners' who have the skills to research their opinions can also use those tools gain the knowledge they need in a situation requiring action, eliminating the need for political knowledge as a precursor to civic action. Yet it should be noted that the indicators used only measured whether or not the learner was engaging in civic activity, not whether they were effective in this engagement. For example, the measure asked whether or not they had been in a peaceful protest but it did not investigate whether this protest was conducted effectively. So there is still the possibility that knowledge is necessary for *effective* action. Finally, in regards to civic values, the measure of civic action did not necessarily reflect action imbued with democratic morality. The questions addressed whether or not the learners were active, not whether or not they were democratically active. These present interesting avenues for future research.

While not all of the variables had an independent effect on efficacy and action, the original assumption was that the combination of the three would be more effective at producing efficacious and active citizens than any one alone. This assumption is supported by the data. The additive effect, determined by a factor analysis, is significant on both efficacy and on action. This additive effect still only accounts for 22.4% of the variance in civic efficacy and 32.4% of the variance in civic action demonstrating that the theoretical base isn't necessarily wrong, rather, just incomplete. There are other variables that are having a significant effect on efficacy and action. One major component left out of this equation which may fill some of this void is the motive for action. This sense of motivation would appear to be a very important factor in promoting active citizenship yet there is not current research which empirically

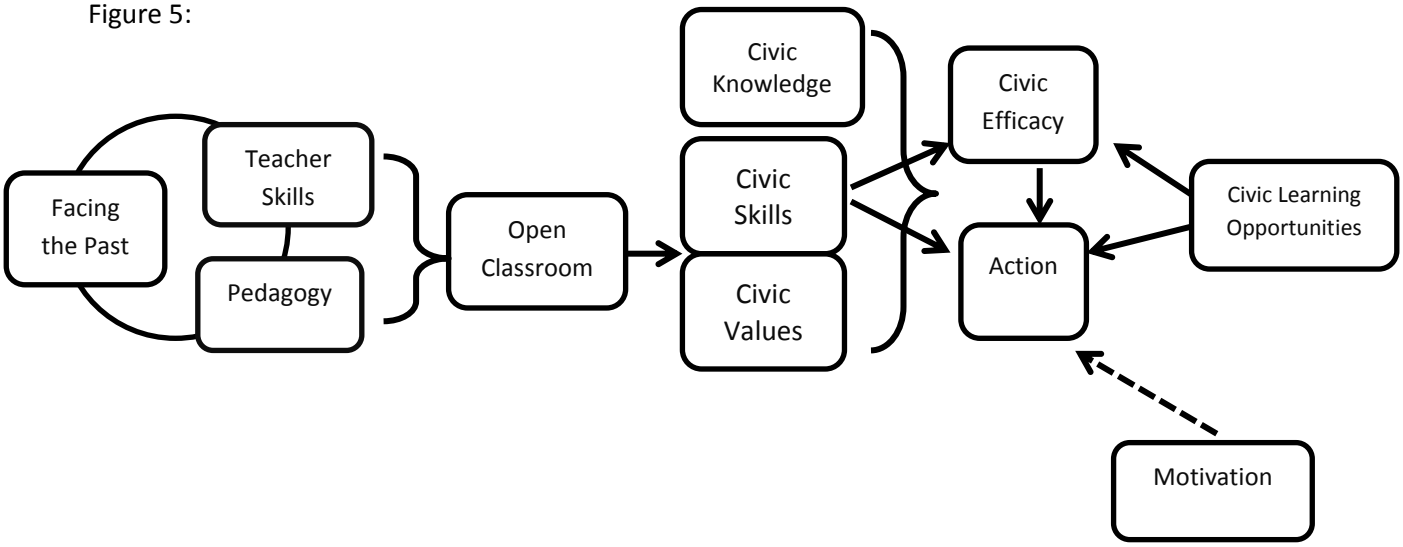
investigates this relationship. Motivation, typically embedded with civic values of community and empathy, is the driving force which gives reason for learners to put their knowledge and skills into action. This motivation can come from different sources and will be tempered with the instilled values of the learner, which, as we have discussed, vary depending on environment factors.

Continuing with the theoretical model, it was found that efficacy does have a significant impact on action, as predicted, and that civic efficacy has a stronger impact on civic action than skills does. Full circle this means that civic skills influences both civic efficacy and civic action but may be influencing action through its impact on efficacy. Furthermore, knowledge and values are no longer a significant part of the equation by themselves but are still present and vital in the amalgamation of civic knowledge, skills, and values and their combined effect on both efficacy and action. Again, although civic skills seem to have the greatest impact on efficacy and action the results do not measure the effectiveness of this action. Future research should focus on clarifying this relationship.

An important note: when completing the factor analysis it appeared that civic values and skills loaded up quite highly against each other. This shows that there is a level of multicollinearity between these measures. This was further proven in the assessment of the impact of knowledge, skills, and values on the classroom civic learning opportunities. For purposes of future research, this could be resolved by increasing the sample size.

Conclusively, the new theoretical model is certainly altered but with many of the same links and characteristics as previously postulated. Below is the new model with arrows put in place for all of the relationships which proved significant in the research findings and a dotted arrow for the new potential relationship. First, I will cover those relationships which remained as predicted after analysis and then will cover the new or unexpected relationships. As previously expected, Facing the Past classrooms were positively associated with classroom environment; however, whereas this variable previously included both Open Classrooms and Civic Learning opportunities, it is now only significantly linked with the open classroom scale. The positive correlation of this scale with both civic skills and knowledge also mimics the previous model. The additive effect of civic knowledge, skills, and values is significantly correlated with both civic efficacy and civic action and, finally, civic efficacy has a significant effect on civic action. The only missing relationship from the previous model is between the type of class and civic knowledge, skills, and values. There are also two new additions to the model: The individual strong effect of civic skills on both civic efficacy on action and the impact of civic learning opportunities on both civic efficacy and civic action. The first of these new relationships demonstrates that one may not require knowledge and values to have a sense of civic efficacy or to actually act civically; as stated, this does not mean that they are capable of effective action. The second new relationship exposes a potential avenue for promoting efficacy and action within the classroom through examples of civically active role models. Finally, a potential but untested relationship is the impact of motivation on civic action, as previously postulated in the initial theoretical conceptualization. This effect warrants future research and investigation.

Figure 5:


Facing the Past
Teacher Skills
Pedagogy
Open Classroom
Civic Knowledge
Civic Skills
Civic Values
Civic Efficacy
Action
Civic Learning Opportunities
Motivation

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The primary aim of this investigation was to achieve a better understanding of civic education as a tool for political socialization. It set out to determine whether specific pedagogies can effectively promote civic responsibility in South African youth. This work is particularly important considering the waning support for democracy among the Born Free generation. South Africa has proponed active democratic citizenship since the fall of apartheid and has utilized the national curriculum to promote an agenda of civic engagement. However, the lack of democratic commitment in the nation's youth demonstrates that South Africa has not yet been successful in producing civically responsible learners. One possible remedy for the insufficiency of the democratic curriculum lies in promoting civic knowledge, skills, and values through specialized teacher training within civic education. Comprehensively, it addressed the following primary research question and sub-questions:

> *Is the specialized civic education utilized in Shikaya's Facing the Past- Transforming Our Future program effective at socializing high school learners toward civic responsibility and how does this compare to mainstream pedagogy?*

1. How can we define civic responsibility and its characteristics in the South African context?
2. What pedagogies within civic education affect these characteristics?
3. Does Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming our Future program's pedagogies have an impact on civic responsibility?

The second chapter of this research is founded on the theoretical analysis of the first sub-question regarding the definition of civic responsibility. It was concluded that civic responsibility encapsulates an active form of citizenship where individuals take responsibility of their rights through participation in society. This active engagement is tempered with democratic values of tolerance, human rights, and equality. It involves more than just participating in the voting process and further includes informed and respective engagement in public discourse, an understanding of where problems exist in society, and actively working to remedy such problems. This definition was deemed particularly significant in the South African context which has directly promoted active citizenship as a moral concept through official documents and statements. It is emphasized that electorates recognize both their right and responsibility to participate in society.

Empirical analysis in the fourth chapter addressed the main research question and the remaining sub-questions through an investigation of the effect of classroom type on each aspect of the theoretical model with particular attention to the overall impact on learners' civic responsibility (labeled civic action). Contradictory to my initial assumptions, the study found that the impact of Facing the Past teacher training and pedagogies is not significantly correlated to the majority of the tested variables. Learners' level of civic knowledge, values, and skills were not significantly associated with the type of classroom (Facing the Past vs. Non-Facing the Past). Furthermore, there was no significant link between their classroom type and feelings of self-efficacy. However, one important finding is that Facing the Past

classrooms are positively and significantly correlated with more open classroom environments. This link was particularly strong in School 2.

Of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is the importance of classroom environment. Here, the two tested aspects of environment had dissimilar but significant effects. First, the element inspecting open and engaging classrooms is found to be related to increased civic values and deliberative skills in learners. This relationship was particularly strong in the low-resource school of the sample. Results demonstrated a further potential importance of the other element, civic learning opportunities, for promoting civic efficacy and civic action in learners. Particularly noteworthy is the positive effect of discussing those people and groups who work to make society. It may be case that having exposure to such material gives learners a positive example of how and why individuals should be civically engaged. Both open classroom environment and civic learning opportunities scales had much stronger impacts on the dependent variables in School 3 than any other school or within the pooled regressions. This may indicate support for the Compensation Hypothesis which supposes that civic education and open classroom climates have a stronger socializing impact on disadvantaged learners (Campbell, 2008). According to studies completed in the United States, adolescents of low socio-economic status are less likely to be politically engaged and therefore may have more potential for 'improvement' through exposure to civic engagement lessons and experiences in the classroom (Gimpel et al. 2003). This suggests that the effects of open classrooms and civic learning opportunities may be more effective in increasing learner deliberative skills, efficacy, and action in in School 3 because of its lower socio-economic status and that this effect may hold in other lower-resource schools.

Multiple regressions also provided insight regarding the proposed theoretical model created in the second chapter of this work. Notably, civic skills and civic efficacy emerged as correlated with civic action. This brings insight as to the important independent role of learner deliberative skills; if these results maintain internal validity, it may signify that individuals only require civic skills to be civically efficacious and active; however, with a lack of knowledge this does not account for whether that leaves them capable of *effective* civic engagement. Meanwhile, the additive effect of civic knowledge, skills, and values also showed to be significantly correlated with both civic efficacy and civic action, thereby supporting the original assumption in the theoretical model. There is still a large portion of the variance in civic action which is not explained by the investigated variables. One potential component that has been left out of this equation is the motive for action. A sense of motivation could be a very important factor in promoting active citizenship and warrants further investigation. The unexpected negative correlation of civic knowledge with civic action and efficacy also merits attention for future research.

This work contributes to the existing knowledge of the importance of civic education by providing insight as to the various indicators that may have an impact on civic responsibility. While the study did not show significant findings for the Facing the Past methodologies' effect on civic action or its components, it did substantiate its relationship with open classroom environments. This is particularly important considering the discovery of the potential importance of classroom environment on both civic values and civic skills. This was particularly explanatory in regards to deliberative skills in the low-resource school in the sample. It should be noted that this project, and therefore the results, is/are

subject to some major limitations. First, these data only apply to the tested sample of learners within these three schools. The project utilized a 'convenience sample' due to limited time and resources. This restricted the physical area from which schools could be selected and only focused on self-selected history learners. Furthermore, the researcher relationship with Shikaya affected the selection of schools and teachers for the study as I relied upon the cooperation, resources, and contacts of the organization to gain access to the sample of learners. Therefore, this sample is not representative of all learners in the Western Cape. The research cannot claim strong conclusions on the base of these limitations.

With these limitations in mind, the research results are still helpful in identifying areas of improvement for classrooms in regards to their aims to promote the characteristics of responsible citizenship. The findings suggest potential courses of action which may be pursued through teacher training outside of secondary institutions, such as Shikaya's Facing the Past program, or applied directly by the school districts through South African education policy. As previously stated, this research does not present a typical evaluation of Facing the Past as a program but, rather, focuses on its pedagogies when fully implemented; therefore only general recommendations will be made. It is also recognized that Shikaya's Facing the Past program may have a stronger impact on other measures of learner development not investigated with this study. Research examining the effects of the program on learners' political motivations and sense of empathy may be beneficial.

Foremost, all schools may want to focus on increasing the civic learning opportunities within their classrooms to help enhance learners' sense of efficacy and promote active citizenship. These include but are not limited to speaking about and meeting individuals and groups who work to make society better, communicating various ways to improve the local community, and discussing the dangers of prejudice and discrimination in society. In this way, learners get exposure to positive role models, gain a genuine understanding of the problems in society in need of remedy, and are given practical examples of how to incite change in their communities. Such pedagogies don't merely inform learners that people can make a difference but actually shows them the people, the reasons, and the means for action. Meanwhile, particularly low-resource schools may want to also focus on creating safe, tolerant, and open classroom environments. Here, learners may feel safe in expressing their opinions and have a stronger likelihood of developing democratic values and practicing deliberative skills. The data indicates that preventing bullying in the classroom may have a strong impact in this respect. This protected atmosphere may encourage learners to practice respectful discussion and to garner and refine their deliberative skills.

In conclusion, the importance of education as a tool for the reproduction of democratic values has been recognized by great minds for centuries yet there is still much research required to fully understand its impact. This project has sought to add empirical knowledge to the previous literature on the manufacture of civically responsible citizens. It has further sought to understand the particular impact of Shikaya's Facing the Past – Transforming Our Future pedagogies on grade 11 learners' perceptions of and participation in civic responsibility including their levels of civic knowledge, skills, values, and efficacy. With results and recommendations in place this dissertation opens the door for future inquiry and investigation. Continuing to gain an understanding of how to develop responsible, empowered, and active democratic youth is vital in securing the future of open and fair democracy in South Africa.

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APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

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ENQUIRIES: Dr A T Wyngaard

Ms Megan Weinstein
19 Welgemeend Street
Apartment 7
Cape Town
8001

Dear Ms Megan Weinstein

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: THE POWER OF CIVIC EDUCATION IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIZATION: A STUDY OF CAPE TOWN HIGH SCHOOLS

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **15 January 2014 till 31 January 2014**
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN
8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.
Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard
Directorate: Research
DATE: 07 November 2013

APPENDIX B: Survey Tool Variables and Indicators

	Item Wording
Civic Responsibility	Index: Additive scale of the following 13 items; divided by 13
	How much have you done the following things?
	A1) I have discussed issues and problems about society with my family members. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A2) I have taken part in a peaceful protest, march or demonstration. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A3) I have worked to change a school policy or school rule. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A4) I have decided what to buy based on whether or not the company is socially responsible. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A5) I have discussed issues and problems about society with my friends. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A6) I have participated in a youth forum, performance or other event where young people express their political views. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A7) I have discussed issues and problems about society with the learners in this classroom. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A8) I have volunteered on a political campaign. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A9) I have stood up for someone who was being bullied. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A10) I have stood up for someone who was being discriminated against. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A11) I have told someone who was making prejudiced comments that I thought it was wrong to do that. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A12) I have discussed issues and problems about society with members of a group who share my concerns about social and political issues. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	A13) I regularly use technology (i.e. text messages, internet) to learn about and share ideas about social and political issues. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.

	Item Wording
Civic Self-Efficacy	Index: Additive scale of the following 7 items; divided by 7
	How strongly do you agree or disagree with each statement below?
	B1) I have a pretty good understanding of the social and political problems facing this country. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	B2) When people discuss social and political issues, I usually have something to say. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	B3) I am better informed about politics and government than most learners. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	B4) People like me can make a difference in the community. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	B5)People like my family and I can influence political decisions. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.
	B6) I make it a point to follow news about world events. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.

	B7) I am often upset by events in the news. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree.

	Item Wording
Civic Knowledge	Index: Additive scale of the following 9 items
	Please select the best (most correct) answer
	C1) A woman who has a young child is interviewed for a job at a travel agency. Which of the following is an example of discrimination? She does not get the job because… (a) she has no previous experience; (b) she is a mother; (c) she speaks only one language; (d) she demands a high salary; (e) I don't know or don't have enough information.
	C2) In democratic countries what is the primary function of having more than one political party? (a) To represent different opinions in the national legislature; (b) To limit political corruption; (c) To prevent political demonstrations; (d) To encourage economic competition; (e) I don't know or don't have enough information
	C3) Who is ultimately responsible for deciding whether a law is permitted under South Africa's Constitution? (a) The President; (b) The Parliament; (c) The courts; (d) Political parties; (e) I don't know or don't have enough information
	C4) The South African Constitution's Bill of Rights guarantees freedom of expression. Which of these is NOT protected by this freedom? (a) The right of the citizen to criticize the President; (b) The right of a newspaper to publish information about corruption; (c) The right of a citizen to call for violence; (d) The right of a member of a political party to criticize that party; (e) I don't know or don't have enough information
	C5) Which political party holds the most seats in South Africa's national legislature? (a) Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP); (b) Democratic Alliance (DA); (c) African National Congress (ANC); (d) Congress of the People (COPE); (e) I don't know or don't have enough information
	C6) Which political party holds the most seats in the Western Cape provincial legislature? (a) Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP); (b) Democratic Alliance (DA); (c) African National Congress (ANC); (d) Congress of the People (COPE); (e) I don't know or don't have enough information
	C7) Which of the following is most likely to mean that a country is no longer a democracy? (a) People are not allowed to criticize the government; (b) There are high levels of racism in society; (c) People pay very high taxes; (d) There is too much unemployment; (e) I don't know or don't have enough information
	C8) Which of the following organizations created Apartheid? (a) United Democratic Front (UDF); (b) Pan-African Congress (PAC); (c) The National Party (NP); (d) The United Party (UP); (e) I don't know or don't have enough information
	C9) The Sharpeville massacre in 1960 occurred in response to what? (a) Protests against the "pass laws"; (b) Protests against the destruction of District Six; (c) An attack by the Mozambican military; (d) Conflict between black and white miners; (e) I don't know or don't have enough information

	Item Wording
Civic Skills	
Deliberation Skills	Index: Additive scale of the following 12 items; divided by 12
	How often do you do each of the following things?
	D1) I discuss social and political problems with people who hold different views from me. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D2) In class discussions, I speak with other learners, not just the teacher. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never

	D3) I voice my opinion even if I think it may be unpopular. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D4) I listen to others express their opinions, even when I disagree with them. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D5) I think about my prejudices. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D6) When I disagree with others, I try to reach a compromise. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D7) I back up my opinions on a topic with evidence or information. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D8) I try to see an issue from various points of view. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D9) I listen respectfully to learners from different ethnic or religious backgrounds from my own. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D10) I weigh the pros and cons of possible solutions to issues discussed in the class where I am taking this survey. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D11) I think about how issues discussed in the class where I am taking this survey connect to my own life. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never
	D12) I feel comfortable sharing my feelings as well as my ideas. 1=Never; 2=Rarely; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never

	Item Wording
Civic Values	Index: Additive scale of the following 17 items; divided by 17
Personally Responsible	E1) People should assist those in their lives who need help. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E2) I try to help when I see people in need. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E3) I feel personally responsible for keeping the community clean and safe. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E4) It is important for people to follow the rules and laws. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E5) I try to be kind to other people. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E6) I would help others without being paid. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E7) It is important to tell the truth. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
Participatory	E8) Everybody should be concerned with national, provincial, and local issues. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E9) Everyone should be involved in working with community organizations and local government on issue that affect the community. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E10) It is my responsibility to be actively involved in provincial and local issues. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E11) It is important to get involved in improving my community. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
Justice Oriented	E12) It is important to protest when something in society needs changing. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E13) It is important to buy products from socially responsible businesses. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E14) It is important to work for positive social change. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree;

	3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E15) When thinking about problems in society, it is important to focus on the causes. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E16) It is important to think critically about laws and government. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	E17) It is important to challenge inequalities in society. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree

	Item Wording
	Classroom Environment
Open Classroom	Index: Additive scale of the following 17 items; divided by 17
Teacher Practices	F1) The teacher expects learners to respect one another. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F2) The teacher encourages learners to discuss political and social topics about which people have different opinions. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F3) The teacher listens to learners' ideas. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F4) The teacher treats learners as individuals, not as members of groups to which they belong. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F5) The teacher won't let learners make fun of other learners. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F6) The teacher expects learners to listen to each other's opinions. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F7) The teacher encourages learners to make up their own minds about political and social topics. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F8) The teacher focuses on issues I care about. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
Learner Practices	F9) Learners treat each other as individuals, not as members of groups. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F10) Learners have a voice in what happens. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F11) Learners can disagree with the teacher as long as they are respectful. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F12) Learners can disagree with each other as long as they are respectful. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F13) Learners are encouraged to express their opinions. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F14) Learners have opportunities to get to know kids from different races and cultures. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F15) Learners from different races and cultures hang out together. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F16) In some class periods we learn about the history of different races and cultures. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	F17) In some class periods learners have a chance to discuss their cultural background. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
Classroom Civic Learning Opportunities	Index: Additive scale of the following 6 items; divided by 6
	How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the class where you are taking this survey?

	G1) We have talked about people and groups who work to make society better. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	G2) We have met people who work to make society better. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	G3) We have learned about things in society that need to be changed. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	G4) We have talked about ways to improve our community. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	G5) We are required to keep up with politics or government, either by reading a newspaper, watching TV, or going on the internet. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	G6) We have learned about the dangers of prejudice and discrimination. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree

	Item Wording
Tolerance	Index: Additive scale of the following 8 items; divided by 8
	Imagine you are discussing an issue in your class (the class in which you are taking this survey) that learners have strong and different opinions about. How much do you agree with the following statements about this situation?
	Learners should hear each other out, even when they disagree. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	Learners should try to consider the issue from different perspectives. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	Learners should hold back from expressing opinions that cause conflict or discomfort. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	Learners should not have to waste time listening to opinions that aren't worthwhile. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	It's important for learners to come up with different ideas about how an issue might be solved. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	It's good for learners to think deeply about their own beliefs. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	Learners should not have to listen to points of view that go against their beliefs. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree
	It's good when learners realize that an issue is more complicated than they previously thought. 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree

APPENDIX C: DATA FIGURES AND RESULTS

Table C1

Classroom Open Climate (school control)

		Person's R	Pearson's R^2	ß	Significance
School 1	Knowledge	0.073	0.005	-0.148	0.602
	Skills	0.218	0.048	0.172	0.117
	Values	0.521	0.272	0.361	0.000
	Efficacy	0.314	0.098	0.364	0.022
	Action	0.212	0.045	0.208	0.128
School 2	Knowledge	0.191	0.036	-0.480	0.331
	Skills	0.360	0.130	0.284	0.055
	Values	0.095	0.009	-0.068	0.625
	Efficacy	0.085	0.007	0.112	0.662
	Action	0.116	0.013	0.118	0.551
School 3	Knowledge	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.999
	Skills	0.583	0.340	0.529	0.000
	Values	0.532	0.283	0.510	0.000
	Efficacy	0.502	0.252	0.710	0.000
	Action	0.344	0.118	0.362	0.013

Note: p <.05

Table C2

Classroom Civic Learning Opportunities (class control)

		Person's R	Pearson's R^2	ß	Significance
School 1	Knowledge	0.059	0.004	0.120	0.674
	Skills	0.300	0.909	0.238	0.029
	Values	0.265	0.070	0.185	0.055
	Efficacy	0.424	0.180	0.496	0.002
	Action	0.311	0.097	0.307	0.023
School 2	Knowledge	0.300	0.090	0.755	0.120
	Skills	0.061	0.004	0.048	0.754
	Values	0.225	0.051	-0.160	0.240
	Efficacy	0.125	0.016	0.164	0.519
	Action	0.009	0.000	-0.009	0.962
School 3	Knowledge	0.234	0.055	-0.828	0.095
	Skills	0.530	0.281	0.488	0.000
	Values	0.463	0.214	0.450	0.001

	Efficacy	0.580	0.337	0.832	0.000
	Action	0.605	0.366	0.645	0.000
Note: p < .05					

Table C3

Knowledge, Skills & Values on Efficacy (school control)

		ß	Beta weights	t	Significance
School 1	Knowledge	-0.65	-0.114	-0.985	0.329
R = 0.601	Skills	0.811	0.552	4.456	0.000
R2 = 0.361	Values	0.158	0.094	0.756	0.454
School 2	Knowledge	0.079	0.147	0.779	0.444
R = 0.476	Skills	0.700	0.422	2.050	0.051
R2 = 0.226	Values	-0.054	-0.028	-0.141	0.889
School 3	Knowledge	-0.069	-0.171	-1.356	0.182
R = 0.493	Skills	0.529	0.340	2.278	0.027
R2 = 0.243	Values	0.288	0.196	1.309	0.197

Note: p < .05

Pooled R = 0.526

Pooled R^2 = 0.315

Table C4

Knowledge, Skills & Values on Civic Action

		ß	Beta weights	t	Significance
School 1	Knowledge	0.007	0.015	0.132	0.896
R = 0.603	Skills	0.722	0.582	4.706	0
R2 = 0.364	Values	0.07	0.05	0.399	0.692
School 2	Knowledge	0.031	0.078	0.433	0.669
R = 0.535	Skills	0.584	0.483	2.444	0.022
R2 = .0286	Values	0.074	0.053	0.28	0.782
School 3	Knowledge	-0.061	-0.203	-1.681	0.099
R = 0.553	Skills	0.562	0.485	3.4	0.001
R2 = 0.306	Values	0.075	0.069	0.48	0.633

Notes: p < .05

Pooled R = 0.639

Pooled R^2 = 0.409

Table C5
Factor Analysis

	Communalities	Eigenvalues	
	Extraction	Total	% of Variance
Civic Value	0.635	1.605	53.487
Civic Skills	0.789	0.981	32.702
Civic Knowledge	0.181	0.414	13.81